



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-042
Friday
5 March 1993

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-042

CONTENTS

5 March 1993

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Izetbegovic Reportedly Ready To Sign Maps [TANJUG]	1
Karadzic Rejects Map Proposal [AFP]	1
Proposes UN Control of Disputed Areas [TANJUG]	1
Urges Referendum on Issue [TANJUG]	2
Says Will Not Sign Maps [Belgrade Radio]	2
Official Links Geneva Talks With Croat Withdrawal [Belgrade TV]	3
EC To Provide More Aid to Former Yugoslavia [Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD 4 Mar]	3

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Havel, Meciar Discuss Tighter Border Controls [CTK]	4
Czechs Officially Disavow Rights to Gabcikovo [Budapest Radio]	4
Walesa Sees Regional Cooperation as 'Protection' [CTK]	4

ALBANIA

Albanian Killed in Yugoslav Border Incident [ATA]	5
Foreign Ministry Protests [ATA]	5
Berisha Tours Districts, Meets Local Officials [ATA]	5

BULGARIA

Four SDS Social Democrats Join Dissenters [24 CHASA 27 Feb]	6
Dimitrov Alleges Campaign To Destroy SDS [DEMOKRATSIYA 27 Feb]	6
SDS Deputy Biserov Advocates New Elections [DEMOKRATSIYA 27 Feb]	6
SDS Faction Declines Berov Invitation [Sofia Radio]	7
Berov Requests Legislature To Meet Extra Day [Sofia Radio]	7
Zhelev Expresses 'Concern' for TV Situation [BTA]	7
Dimitrova Expresses 'Concern' [BTA]	8
Zhelev Denounces National Day Disturbances [Sofia Radio]	8
Parties Condemn Disturbances [BTA]	8
Council of Ministers Bans Export of Grain [BTA]	8
Mercenaries in Former Yugoslavia Face Prosecution [BTA]	9
DPS Leader Leaves for Ankara Visit [BTA]	9

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel, U.S. Ambassador Discuss NATO [Prague Radio]	10
Social Democrat Leader Reviews Party Policy [MLADA FRONTA DNES 1 Mar]	10
CSSD Official Expects Deputies To Follow New Line [CTK]	11
CSSD Leaders Discuss Cooperation [CTK]	11
Interview With Defense Minister Antonin Baudys [LIDOVE NOVINY 26 Feb]	11
Defense Ministry Denies Report of Army Purge [RUDE PRAVO 1 Mar]	14
Official Says Converting Temelin Unrealistic [CTK]	15

SLOVAKIA

Austrian President Klesil Meets With Meciar [CTK]	16
Meciar Addresses HZDS Meeting in Bratislava [Bratislava Radio]	16
Andrejcek Sole Defense Minister Candidate [NARODNA OBRODA 27 Feb]	18

Report Lists 'Unofficial' Presidential Aides [NARODNA OBRODA 2 Mar]	18
Newspapers Review Meciar-Knazko Dispute [CTK]	18
Knazko Discusses Staying as Foreign Minister [SLOVENSKY DENNIK 3 Mar]	19
Interior Minister Discusses Czech Border Issue [Bratislava Radio]	20
KDH Official: Government Has 'Totalitarian Tendencies' [CTK]	20
Ministry Report Reviews Foreign Investments [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 2 Mar]	21
Additional Funds Needed To Restructure Economy [Bratislava Radio]	21
Deputy Says Devaluation Causing Economic Lamage [CTK]	21
Ethnic Hungarian Movement Holds Congress in Komarno [PRAVDA 1 Mar]	21

HUNGARY

Hungarian Minister: Gabcikovo Project 'Nonsense' [CTK]	23
Statement on Talks With Hungarians in Romania Published [MAGYAR NEMZET 1 Mar]	23
Jeszenszky Denies Territorial Dispute With Romania [ROMANIA LIBERA 22 Feb]	23
Trade With Visegrad Group Expected To Rise [MTI]	24
Dismissed Military Official Views Intelligence [MAGYAR NEMZET 1 Mar]	25
Albanian Foreign Minister Visits Budapest [MTI]	26

POLAND

Sejm Considers Privatization Law, 'Schnappsgate' [PAP]	27
Drzycimski on Possible U.S.-Russian Summit in Warsaw [Warsaw Radio]	27
Drzycimski: National Guard 'To Serve the Reforms' [PAP]	28
Inspector Views Damage Left by Soviet Army [Warsaw Radio]	28
Onyszkiewicz Meets NATO Commander [Warsaw TV]	28
Ambassador Denies Report of Claims Against Lithuania [PAP]	28
Protestors March Outside Prospective Walesa Residence [PAP]	28

ROMANIA

Vacaroiu Presents Economic Program to Parliament [ROMPRES]	29
Officials Deny Russian-Serb Meeting in Timisoara [ADEVARUL 2 Mar]	33
Daily Condemns Hungary's Policy Toward Transylvania [ROMPRES]	34

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Zepa Residents Retrieve Airdropped Packages [Sarajevo Radio]	35
'Appalling Manhunt' by Serbs in Cerska Reported [Sarajevo Radio]	35
Mladic Allows UN To Help Cerska Civilians [AFP]	35
Morillon Leaves for Cerska [AFP]	35
Konjevic Polje Reportedly Shelled by Serbs [Sarajevo Radio]	35
Serb Forces Propose Evacuation [AFP]	35
Serb Members of Presidency Ask Morillon To Stop Serbs [Sarajevo Radio]	36
Srebrenica Press Center Calls for Aid [Sarajevo Radio]	36
UN Aid Convoy Bound for Sarajevo [TANJUG]	37
French Aid Worker Shot by Sniper [AFP]	37
Serbs Say Muslims Responsible [TANJUG]	37
Canadian Peacekeepers Return Fire in Visoko [AFP]	37
Sarajevo Radio Updates Fighting	38
Serb Army Denies 'Ethnic Cleansing' in North [TANJUG]	38
Serb Alleges Muslim-Croat Atrocities in Konjic [TANJUG]	39
Serbs To Propose Dismantling Prison Camps [TANJUG]	39
'Informal' Croat-Muslim Agreement Signed [Zagreb Radio]	40
Karadzic 'Shocked' by Croatian-Muslim 'Coalition' [Belgrade Radio]	40
Croats, Muslims Reportedly Plan Corridor in Croatia [Belgrade Radio]	40
Army Commander Protests Serb 'Terror' [Sarajevo Radio]	40
Article Reports Rise of Croat Nationalism [DANAS 12 Feb]	41

CROATIA

Army Responds to Serb Attacks in Zadar Area [Zagreb Radio]	43
Serbs Ready To Defend Krajina to 'Last Breath' [Belgrade Radio]	43
TANJUG Claims Muslims Urging Return of 'Ustashi' [TANJUG]	43

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Foreign Ministry Regrets U.S. Embassy Attack [TANJUG]	44
Seselj Denounces Embassy Bombing [Belgrade Radio]	44

Macedonia

Gligorov Relieves Chief of General Staff [TANJUG]	44
Gligorov Claims Country Will Never Change Name [KONTINENT 27-28 Feb]	44

Kosovo

Serb Official Discusses Secession as 'Real Problem' [TANJUG]	45
--	----

Izetbegovic Reportedly Ready To Sign Maps

LD0503101693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0630 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] New York, 5 March (TANJUG)—Following an indication last night that Alija Izetbegovic might agree to sign the Vance-Owen maps on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 provinces today, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said that these maps were tailored to the detriment of the Serb people and that he would not sign them.

After they had conferred with Izetbegovic for the third time, international negotiators Vance and Owen looked optimistic and gave an indication that on Friday [5 March], before his departure from New York, Izetbegovic might sign maps that are still in the way of the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

"That is his business, if he wants to sign," Karadzic told TANJUG. "That will put new pressure on us, but we cannot sign anything that can be to the detriment of our people."

Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croat leader Boban are again to meet with the two cochairmen of the Geneva Conference today.

Karadzic said that he had presented a good plan that can lead to peace, that is, that the disputable territories ought to be put under UN control until a final solution is found.

He added that it is impermissible that Vance and Owen should be talking with Muslims and Croats in the absence of the Serb side. "That is leaving an impression that they wish to divide Bosnia into two parts," the Bosnian Serb leader said.

"We will probably again be blamed before the world public, but it is of greatest importance for us not to be blamed by our own people," Karadzic said.

He said that fresh pressures on Serbia can be expected if Bosnian Serbs do not sign the agreement. "If someone again tries to involve Serbia in this, we will interrupt every dialogue and seek independence," Karadzic told TANJUG.

Karadzic Rejects Map Proposal

AU0403212693 Paris AFP in English 2119 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] United Nations, March 4 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Thursday the ceasefire protocol signed by all three Bosnian factions calls for the monitoring of heavy weapons, not placing them under U.N. control as stated by the head of the Moslem-led government.

"We read this paper literally as it was signed by us," Karadzic told a news conference. "That means no control on heavy weaponry, only monitoring."

Karadzic and the Croatian delegation to the peace conference agreed to the arrangements for a ceasefire while the talks were still being held in Geneva, in January. The discussions moved to New York last month.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic signed the ceasefire terms, part of a broader U.N. and European Community peace plan for Bosnia, on Wednesday.

He said he had received written assurances Monday from the then-commander of the U.N. peacekeeping force in the former Yugoslavia, Indian General Satish Nambiar, who has since left his post, that the U.N. force in Bosnia would be boosted so that heavy weapons such as artillery could be placed under U.N. control.

This was an important issue for the Moslem forces because they are heavily outgunned by the Serb militia which have seized most of Bosnia's territory in 11 months of civil war.

The documents signed by Karadzic in Geneva and Izetbegovic in New York are identical.

Karadzic said Thursday, "we have realized that Mr. Izetbegovic has undersigned the military paper but he hopes it is to be altered by Mr. Nambiar's letter." Karadzic added: "if there are alterations, this is a new paper."

Karadzic spoke after meeting with Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and international mediators as part of continuing discussions on the peace plan for Bosnia.

Mediators Cyrus Vance and David Owen, authors of the plan that would carve Bosnia into 10 semi-autonomous provinces based on ethnic, economic and geographic considerations, participated in the meeting.

Proposes UN Control of Disputed Areas

LD0503023993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2359 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] New York, March 4 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic set forth Thursday a proposal under which the division of 70-80 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory was acceptable and that the disputed parts should be controlled by U.N. police and troops.

Karadzic, who heads the Bosnian Serb delegation to the peace talks on the war-afflicted Bosnia-Herzegovina, told a press conference at the U.N. Headquarters that the fate of these disputed territories could be solved in two-three years, when the refugees return to their homes and the population had a chance to express their will.

Karadzic had earlier conferred with U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on the proposed map dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 provinces among the three ethnic communities—Serbs, Moslems and Croats. The meeting was also attended by the chairmen

of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia, who have drawn the maps, Cyrus Vance and David Owen.

He said the Serbs did not oppose parachuting of humanitarian aid, and added that they only feared the Moslems would shoot at the planes and blame the Serbs. This is our only problem regarding this (U.S.) operation, he said.

In his view, the same problem emerged regarding the personnel of the UNHCR and its convoys for East Bosnia.

Karadzic noted that fighting has escalated there after a two-month offensive of the Moslem forces and after the local Serb population discovered mass graves of their relatives and joined fighting on their own. These enraged people were hard to restrain and control, he said.

If there were any casualties suffered among U.N. personnel, the Serbs were certain to be blamed, as always, he said.

The Serb delegation head also said the Serb forces were doing all they could to open safe corridors for passage of all civilians and the wounded who wished to leave the battle zones.

Urges Referendum on Issue

LD0403175093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian delegation will not append a traitor's signature and accept maps that are against the interests of the Serbian people "even if it is only a question of one single village," Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, said in an interview with SRPSKA VOJSKA today.

Karadzic stresses in SRPSKA VOJSKA that "both the army and the people would totally reject" such maps and that "the people who gave their lives for their villages would never allow these villages to become part of another province at the stroke of a pen."

In Karadzic's assessment, the principle of a division into provinces can be accepted because "Serbs can achieve their statehood in former Bosnia-Herzegovina even if Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided into provinces."

Recalling the fact that the Serbian delegation had requested that the question of maps be set aside for the time being, Karadzic said that the issue of controversial areas outlined on these maps "should be resolved by the people themselves in a democratic way. People should decide in a referendum in which province they wish to live."

Speaking of the situation in the field, Karadzic pointed out that "the Serbian army is refraining from offensive

actions and waging a defensive war, believing that this restraint should bring peace more quickly."

"However, if the Muslim side does not give up its offensive around Drina and Posavina, and the Croatian side its offensive in the Neretva Valley, then the Serbian army will have to use all its defensive power in order to defend its state and territory," the Serbian republic president said in the interview.

Says Will Not Sign Maps

AU0403213493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Slobodan Jankovic in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] We have signed one [word indistinct]; that is all that we have signed, so there will be no control over Serbian weapons until the final political agreement is reached. No, not even then because then we will put our weapons into the warehouses ourselves.

The maps have been finished, and there can be no agreement without the signatures on the maps [words indistinct] and there will be no signature on the maps until they are just and acceptable to all, and I believe, to the Serbian side, too. We have made another compromise. I think that is a great and significant step forward at the conference, even though the cochairmen now are rejecting that idea, for the time being. You see, we have identified the undisputed things in the maps, many regions [words indistinct] parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina that indisputably belong to the Serbs, Croats, or Muslims. Those parts of the country could be organized immediately so that people can live normal lives, and work on the economy, education, having a normal everyday life. As for areas that have not been resolved, that are disputed, that we believe belong to us or some other side believes belong to them, we propose that the same recipe be applied to them as has been done in Serbian Krajina. [Words indistinct] is well-known, and we think that there should be a UN police force and the local authorities, and pull back the army to the division lines, which also would be controlled by the United Nations. So we could wait for a couple of years for the return of those people who want to return, and then solve the situation with a plebiscite, or in any other way, or through some political deals.

If the international community wants this war to stop, this is the chance to stop it. This is a good plan; it is completely and equally just for all.

[Jankovic] Mr. Karadzic, does that mean that the negotiations are now beginning, or are they perhaps at the end?

[Karadzic] If they accept this plan, the negotiations are beginning, serious negotiations. And we can say that we are seriously coming close to the aim. If they think that the Serbs should accept their maps, then the talks are over.

Official Links Geneva Talks With Croat Withdrawal
AU0403200293 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Report by Geneva correspondent Snezana Ojdanic]

[Text] After today's talks with Ambassadors Okun and (Arens), Mile Paspalj, chairman of the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina, repeated the view that there will be no negotiations until Croatia withdraws its army and police and allows the Serbian police to return to the entire area occupied on 22 January. The Krajina delegation is not giving up its demand that the so-called blue road be opened between the Maslenica Bridge and Zadar, which would facilitate an exit to the sea and the free movement of citizens of the republic of Serbian Krajina. In these negotiations, the Croatian delegation tried to delay implementation of the Security Council resolution and constantly set new conditions. Their latest demand is a new negotiating team from Krajina, from the ranks of its former leaders. This request was explained by the firm negotiating positions of the current Krajina delegation. Although virtually nothing has been achieved in the first round of the Geneva talks, which went in total anonymity, the negotiations will not stop. They will continue, but the date of resumption has not been announced yet.

EC To Provide More Aid to Former Yugoslavia
BR0403155493 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 4 Mar 93 p 4

[Article: "EC Appropriates Another 2.4 Billion Belgian Francs For Aid to Former Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Brussels—Yesterday the European Commission decided to appropriate ECU [European Currency Unit] 60 million (2.4 billion Belgian francs [BFR]) for humanitarian emergency aid to the former Yugoslavia. By doing so, the Commission is getting ahead of the results from a UN mission which is investigating needs on location. The last two years the EC has donated ECU 290 million (almost BFR12 billion) in emergency aid to the former Yugoslavia. The aid is intended for the three million homeless, refugees, and other victims of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

In anticipation of the UN's final assessment, the Commission estimates the need for additional aid at ECU 325 million. Under the agreements within G-24, the group of 24 Western industrialized countries which coordinate the support to the former East Bloc, the EC will come up with half of that amount. The rest will be evenly divided between the EC member countries and the other members of G-24.

According to EC Commissioner Manuel Marin, who is in charge of the recently established department for Humanitarian Emergency Aid, the Commission's anticipation of the UN assessment is a political signal.

As in the past, the aid will be distributed through non-governmental organizations and through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, it remains to be seen whether the aid is of any use, if it does not arrive where it is needed. The hardly successful American air drops over Bosnia have added to this doubt.

Havel, Meciar Discuss Tighter Border Controls

AU0403171193 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava Mar 2 (CTK)—Czech reasons for tightening the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics were the main topic of a meeting between Czech President Vaclav Havel and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today.

Havel told journalists he explained to Meciar that the Czech Republic's reasons for tightening its border with Slovakia are not political, but solely practical.

He emphasised, however, that such steps must not be unilateral, and can be taken only after agreement on this issue is reached by the two republics.

Havel said his previous discussions with Presidents Thomas Klestil of Austria, Lech Walesa of Poland and Arpad Goncz of Hungary concerned cooperation within the Visegrad Group, which is comprised of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland.

He said the group's activity should reflect the new situation in the Central European region, and that its members should aim at concrete cooperation instead of general political declarations.

Havel, who was here to attend today's inauguration of the first Slovak president, Michal Kovac, said he had come to Bratislava without any bitterness or nostalgia because he has already come to terms with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. He said he believes the two republics will soon meet as equal partners in the European integration process.

Czechs Officially Disavow Rights to Gabcikovo

LD0403132793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] The Czech Foreign Ministry has addressed a note to the Hungarian Embassy in Prague, informing it that Slovakia is the only legal successor to the agreement that was concluded [between Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1977] on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The Czechs have also sent a note with a similar content to Bratislava.

Earlier Slovakia indicated its readiness to confer with Hungary about the final draft of the statement on submitting to the judgment of the Hague International Court if Prague informs it officially that it invests it with every right and commitment in the matter of Gabcikovo.

Walesa Sees Regional Cooperation as 'Protection'

AU0403171493 Prague CTK in English 1246 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 2 (CTK)—Cooperation between our states is the only possible protection against the danger from the east. Polish President Lech Walesa said today.

Speaking at a short meeting of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Austrian presidents with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic in Bratislava, Walesa said he wishes success to Slovakia, as it is a bright example to the world. However, he emphasised that Slovakia will not be able to solve its problems by itself. It will have to cooperate, because the 21st century will be based mainly on regional cooperation.

Hungarian President Arpad Goncz recalled the saying the wise man seeks friends in the neighbourhood. We have no choice but to cooperate, whether we like it or not, Goncz added.

Albanian Killed in Yugoslav Border Incident

AU0503103093 Tirana ATA in English 1112 GMT
4 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—On March 2, the Yugoslav border patrol fired at three Albanian nationals, walking in the border line, 150 meters in the territory of Yugoslav soil. Consequently Dritan Bilali, 26, was killed and two others were wounded. They were Sadik Bogjani and Azem Bogjani, inhabitants of the border area of Bicaj, the district of Kukes. This incident happened in the border point of Morina. The Albanian party declared that the incident occurred deliberately and was a stab in the back. It also observed that the "incident was fully avoidable."

The Yugoslav party explained that this was done in the context of "applying the Yugoslav laws." It did not accept European Community observers to come to the happening spot. Anyhow the observers who got in touch with the incident said that "it is absurd to fire at the back of unarmed people."

On March 3 the Yugoslav party took the two wounded from the hospital of Pristina to the Albanian-Yugoslav border. They were escorted by police and had no medical legal report from the expertise.

During this year four people met death at the Albanian-Yugoslav border and some others got wounded. The Yugoslav party is responsible for this. In all the cases the Yugoslav party shifts the responsibility on the young Serb soldiers "who are inexperienced and cannot avoid the incidents."

Foreign Ministry Protests

AU0503103293 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT
5 Mar 93

["Statement of the Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania"]

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—Regarding the incident of March 2 in the Albanian-Yugoslav border, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes the following statement:

Deeply concerned for the continuous killings along the Yugoslav border, only during the last 2 years the Yugoslav patrols have killed 15 persons while this year 4 persons, which is a violation of the human rights and all

international documents, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania severely protests before Yugoslav authorities for the repeated killings of Albanian nationals.

This is a dangerous precedent which leads to further aggravation of the regional conflict and increase of tension between the two states at a time when Albania is doing its utmost to solve disagreements through dialogue and peaceful means.

By publicly denouncing this latest flagrant act, the Government of the Republic of Albania asks that such acts, which deteriorate the climate in the region, should not be repeated in the future.

Berisha Tours Districts, Meets Local Officials

AU0303100293 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT
3 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 3 (ATA)—On March 1, President Sali Berisha met the chairmen of districts, municipalities and committees of the SP [Socialist Party] from the districts of Fier, Berat, Skrapar, Ballsh, Kucove. They briefed President Berisha with some problems concerning them such as the hardships of the operation of local state power, the bureaucratic administration, extreme centralism of the central executive power, etc.

On his part President Berisha underlined that he personally had insisted first to respect the elected persons and their responsibilities without considering party affiliation. Every attitude which is opposed to this principle is antidemocratic and fraught with old concepts. He said that it is to the interest of Albania that different parties run the communes and districts. It is good that these districts compete with each other as far as economic, cultural and social development is concerned. They should be partners in the development and progress of the economic reform. President Berisha also underlined that he had made efforts to decentralize the state power, by increasing the competences of the local state power.

In this regard two practices are unacceptable. Thus we will ask the government to give explanations.

In the end President Berisha said that it is necessary to allocate the local budget from the local funds. This helps the local power implement a policy of regional development. He also underlined that these problems will be discussed at a round table among parties.

Four SDS Social Democrats Join Dissenters*AU0403213693 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 93 p 4*

[Report by 24 CHASA staff: "Discontent Social Democrats Consider Joining The Group of Dissenters Who Were Expelled From the Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] The declaration of four deputies from the Social Democratic Party, which is a member of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) Parliamentary Group, about their intentions of freezing their SDS membership exacerbated their relations with their leader Ivan Kurtev.

The four deputies in question, namely Ivan Pushkarov, Ruslan Semerdzhiev, Svilyana Zakharieva, and Petko Ginev stated that they will no longer tolerate the political pressure and humiliations to which the SDS Coordinating Council is subjecting the SDS Parliamentary Group and the efforts of SDS leaders to turn the coalition into a political party.

Ivan Kurtev, who is chief secretary of the National Coordinating Council and leader of the SDS-affiliated Social Democratic Party, denounced the action of his own rank and file members and described it as unethical. The Social Democratic Party's National Committee is supposed to discuss the behavior of the four deputies next week. However, on the basis of the party statutes, they cannot be expelled.

According to rumors, however, it is possible that Ivan Kurtev may withdraw from the leadership. Some Social Democrats recall that this could be the appropriate way for him to implement his threat of resigning in case his party members refuse to obey him and follow his policy. The latter are convinced that this is the right time for him to leave his post, because his policy is likely to obliterate the party's image under all circumstances.

The aforementioned parliament members have not officially applied for joining the fourth parliamentary force as yet. Ruslan Semerdzhiev stated that everything would depend on the decisions of the forthcoming SDS National Conference. Ivan Pushkarov, however, declared that the four deputies should join the group of expelled dissenters, and he appealed to all those who were dissatisfied with the policy of the SDS National Coordinating Council to follow them.

Mr. Atanasov, one of those expelled from the SDS Parliamentary Group, is convinced that if the Social Democrats would also leave the SDS, the fourth political force has every chance to become a new parliamentary group.

Dimitrov Alleges Campaign To Destroy SDS*AU0403201493 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Attempt To Eliminate Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] Filip Dimitrov [chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces] commented to a reporter on the farce created by the parliamentary hearing of Ani Kruleva [chief of Main Investigation Department] as follows:

"It is clear that this is a political scheme that has several purposes. First, it aims exculpate those who brought down Bulgaria's first democratic government by representing its ministers as monsters. Then, if the trick comes off, to eliminate them from the political scene by making them face trial for alleged crimes. The second political purpose is to deal a blow against the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] as a political organization and force by discrediting its administration. Third, it is an attempt to defend the actually criminal or illegal activities of certain groups connected with Podkrepa, as Eskenazi said in parliament."

SDS Deputy Biserov Advocates New Elections*AU0403202893 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 93 p 7*

[Interview with Khristo Biserov, chairman of Conservative Ecological Party, by Sonya Stoyanova; place and date not given: "I Expect the SDS To Steer a Course Toward Elections Because the Former Communist Party and the President Stand Behind the Berov Government"]

[Text] [Stoyanova] Mr. Biserov, are any people plotting in collusion within the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]?

[Biserov] I would say rather that certain people are working against the SDS. In my view the attack on Stoyan Ganev is nothing but an attack on the SDS itself. It is wrong to regard it as his own personal conflict. The attack against him came at a moment when there was a high likelihood of elections being called or of a service cabinet being formed. Precisely at this juncture, a deliberate attempt was made to represent the SDS as being on the point of breaking up, so that it would lose the confidence of its electorate.

[Stoyanova] How would you comment on the statements by politicians from certain parties that are directly demanding the replacement of the chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council?

[Biserov] It should be clear to everyone that the National Coordinating Council as a whole, not its chairman or deputy chairman, constitutes the political leadership of the SDS. Only the National Coordinating Council adopts political decisions, and the chairman and the deputies have no voting rights regarding the ballots. If anyone seeks political responsibility from anyone for the coalition's political mistakes, he should seek it from the political body that adopted these decisions. Within the National Coordinating Council, each party votes according to the decisions of its own leading organs.

Accordingly, if we seek political responsibility, we should look for it down to this level.

[Stoyanova] Mr. Biserov, what can we further expect from this parliament?

[Biserov] In our view, the present parliament has exhausted its possibilities. A parliament can exist and operate only as long as it has a stable political majority. The present majority formed by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] is not stable and is doomed to disintegrate, because it includes highly conflicting interests, and it has no unified program for action. We cannot obtain power again during the term of the present National Assembly, and in practice this can only mean new elections!

[Stoyanova] What is your attitude toward the deputies who cast their votes for the Berov government?

[Biserov] Not only the SDS deputies, but all those who voted for this government betrayed the vote of confidence they received from their electorates, because the supporters of the former Communist Party [BSP] did not send their representatives to parliament to vote for a government formed on a DPS mandate. The DPS voters hardly sent their deputies to parliament to impose a government that is mainly supported by BSP votes. The position adopted by the SDS deputies who voted for the Berov cabinet is even more cynical, because the cabinet would not have been elected without their support. This most reprehensible aspect of their behavior is that through their votes they were to create an impression that this was a government of the whole of parliament. The truth is that this is a government of the former Communist Party with hidden support from the president.

[Stoyanova] What do you expect to happen at the SDS national conference?

[Biserov] I expect the SDS to steer a course toward new elections, and I expect the people who attack Filip Dimitrov to be put in their places.

SDS Faction Declines Berov Invitation

AU0403194293 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] On 4 March a meeting of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary faction took place. The participants mainly discussed organizational issues. The SDS parliamentary faction declined the invitation of Prime Minister Lyuben Berov to the leadership of the three National Assembly factions to meet today. According to Miss Zlatka Ruseva, the reason for the refusal to participate in the meeting was the fact that the invitation was conveyed through a secretary, and it did not contain any explanation about the topics that were to be discussed.

Berov Requests Legislature To Meet Extra Day

AU0403194493 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] On 4 March National Assembly members Nora Ananieva, Mr. Atanasov, and Osman Oktay responded to Prime Minister Lyuben Berov's invitation and met with him in the afternoon. He requested that they activate the legislative activity of the parliament through prolonging the National Assembly weekly work by one additional day.

The representatives of the National Assembly positively accepted the government's request and will probably submit a joint proposal to the National Assembly to hold regular parliamentary session also on Tuesday.

Zhelev Expresses 'Concern' for TV Situation

AU0403195693 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—Television Directors Neri Terzieva, Stefan Dimitrov and Ivan Garelov had a meeting with President Zhelyu Zhelev at his invitation. The participants discussed the present situation at the Bulgarian National Television (BNT). Its director general, Asen Agov, has been recently dismissed by parliament.

I am concerned over the situation at the BNT, President Zhelev said after the meeting. The television has been destabilized and the destabilization of this institution is dangerous because it can lead to destabilization of the whole country, the president said. In his opinion, parliament should urgently adopt legislation determining the status of television. It is intolerable to have the national television a hostage of political games and strivings. The status of the national television should be clearly defined thus giving certainty to those working at it, Dr. Zhelev said.

After Mr. Agov's dismissal as director general, the situation at the BNT remains in the focus of attention of the public and politicians. Today the National Assembly Radio and Television Committee considered the powers of the BNT acting director general. In the meantime the BNT acting director general, Militsa Traykova, endorsed the dismissal of BNT Chief Secretary Petur Georgiev, Channel 1 Director Stefan Dimitrov and the director of the Equipment Maintenance Department, Todor Strashimirov. The programme teams of BNT Channel 1 and Air 2 issued a declaration qualifying the dismissals as unlawful. The Bulgarian intellectuals sided with the national television. Their declaration sent to BTA says that what is happening with the BNT is an outrage and that the freedom of speech and of personal views and persuasions is in jeopardy.

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Evgeni Matinchev received BNT Acting Director General Militsa Traykova at her request. In Mr. Matinchev's opinion, the BNT employees' demand for

an average salary that is five times higher than the minimum wage in this country is unrealistic. The problems of people working for the national television will be settled after discussing the overall policy on the cost of living adjustment of incomes at the National Council for Trilateral Social Cooperation, Mr. Matinchev said after the meeting.

Dimitrova Expresses 'Concern'

AU0403211693 Sofia BTA in English 2036 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—Vice President Blaga Dimitrova expressed her concern over the situation at the Bulgarian National Television (BNT). In a televised statement this evening she described today's dismissals from the BNT as a relapse to censorship. An attempt on our inviolable right to fair information has been engineered, Mrs. Dimitrova said.

Sherife Mustafa, deputy chairwoman of the parliamentary group of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), also came on television saying that the DPS was against any pressure on and interference in the work of state institutions, the BNT included. The DPS is against any intervention of the political forces in the activity of the national mass media, she said.

At today's sitting of the Parliamentary Radio and Television Committee the DPS was reproached for interfering in the personnel changes at the national television. Last week the DPS parliamentary group voted for the dismissal of television Director General Asen Agov.

Zhelev Denounces National Day Disturbances

AU0403180093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Statement by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, at National Assembly Square in Sofia—live]

[Text] Dear compatriots: I am addressing you at this hour in which many of you are confused, disappointed, and perhaps losing your confidence in our country's democratic future because of certain events currently under way in our country.

The reason I am addressing you today is directly related to yesterday's incidents, during which our national symbols and our national dignity were disgraced by political extremists who, I hope, do not represent the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

I was also prompted to address you by the current attempts of certain political groups to oppose the reforms under way and by their efforts to push the country toward a restoration of some sort.

All these forces are trying to achieve their goals by means of political destabilization. They rely on our silence and passivity. Hence, I am addressing you; I am addressing

the people for whom the name of Bulgaria and the term democracy are not mere words, devoid of all meaning.

We should not become the hostages of the extremist forces' political ambitions, of their attempts to subject the national interests to their struggle for power.

I feel personally responsible for the fact that the soldiers who were kneeling on the National Assembly Square were forced to witness attempts of insulting the National Anthem, the National Flag, and the memory of the dead. How could we ask those boys to sacrifice their lives for Bulgaria tomorrow?

Dear compatriots, I would like to tell you that you are not alone. As president of the republic and as a citizen of Bulgaria I will resist all attempts to disgrace our national dignity and to obstruct the incipient democratic reforms.

I believe in Bulgaria's future. God bless Bulgaria.

Parties Condemn Disturbances

AU0503091293 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—"In my capacity as president and citizen, I will counter the attempts to disgrace national dignity and disrupt the ongoing democratic changes," said President Zhelyu Zhelev, addressing the nation in connection with the booing during a formal ceremony in Sofia marking Bulgaria's National Day, March 3. [passage omitted]

At a ceremonial tattoo held last night in commemoration of the fallen for Bulgaria's liberation, members of the public, who had taken part in a rally held earlier by the Union of Democratic Forces, booed the attending officials and chanted "Resignation," "Down with," and "Red scum."

The booing at the ceremony on the occasion of Bulgaria's National Day was sharply condemned today by the Bulgarian Business Party, the Constitutional Forum and some affiliates of the Bulgarian Democratic Centre, as well as the Alternative Social Liberal Party and the new Policy Centre.

Council of Ministers Bans Export of Grain

AU0403154793 Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today banned the export of bread and animal-feed grain and grain products until September 30. The decision is motivated by the current shortage of 70,000 tonnes of bread grain and 408,000 tonnes of fodder grain reported by the Agriculture Ministry. The decision was adopted in connection with the uncontrollable export of grain and especially of grain products.

The cabinet today obliged the Ministry of Agriculture to distribute the amounts of grain released from the government reserve between mills, fodder plants and consumers without intermediaries. The Council of Ministers assigned Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev to hold negotiations on the opening of a credit line for the import of some 100,000 tonnes of maize grain from the U.S. Commodity Credit Corporation and for repayment of the 10 million dollar loan extended by the U.S. Administration.

At its meeting today, the cabinet approved the negotiated agreements with the Salini Girola Italstrade Group of Italy on the joint completion and operation of the Bulgarian section of the Trans-European Motorway, North-South E80, from Kalotina to Kapitan Andreevo.

The government today recognized the Bulgarian Industrial Association as a representative national employers organization in the National Council for Social Partnership, established in early 1993 (a tripartite deliberative body including the government, trade unions and employers).

The cabinet approved the Bulgarian-Albanian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, which was signed in Tirana on February 14, 1993, by the presidents of the two republics. The Council of Ministers moves the treaty to parliament for ratification.

The Council of Ministers did not make a decision on the proposed restructuring of Bulgarian power engineering today. The government believes that the condition of this branch should be studied again and the positions of parliamentary parties and trade unions on the matter should be re-considered. The government adopted a

protocol decision, according to which the National Council for Social Partnership will have to discuss again the new electricity prices.

Mercenaries in Former Yugoslavia Face Prosecution

AU0403141493 Sofia BTA in English 1107 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—In connection with reports of recruitment of mercenaries and volunteers of third countries and their deployment in war-torn regions of former Yugoslavia the Bulgarian Government declares it will hold criminally responsible Bulgarian citizens found guilty of taking part in the conflict, committing or ordering to commit crimes against peace and humanity, war crimes and grave human rights offences.

DPS Leader Leaves for Ankara Visit

AU0403180493 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—The leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Mr. Ahmed Dogan today left for Ankara at the invitation of the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Suleyman Demirel. Mr. Dogan is accompanied by the DPS spokesman, Mr. Yunal Lyutfi.

Apart from the Turkish prime minister, the DPS leader will confer with the speaker of the Turkish National Assembly and Turkish political leaders. The economic relations between the two countries and the new lending opportunities, in particular, along with the situation in the Balkans will be high on the agenda of talks.

Havel, U.S. Ambassador Discuss NATO

LD0403162793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Adrian Basora, U.S. ambassador to the Czech Republic, today briefed Czech President Vaclav Havel about the plans of the new U.S. Administration headed by President Bill Clinton. The American ambassador praised Vaclav Havel's opinion and the Czech Republic's attitude toward the North Atlantic alliance, as expressed by the president in his address to the Chamber of Deputies. Ambassador Basora assured President Havel of the readiness of the United States to help the Czech Republic in its rapprochement with NATO.

Social Democrat Leader Reviews Party Policy

AU0403144193 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, by Jiri Leschtina and Petr Novacek, place and date not given: "The Forecaster Does Not Want To Be a 'Nasty Child'"]

[Text] The new chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, Milos Zeman, gave an interview to MLADA FRONTA DNES after being elected.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Do you not see your election as chairman of the Social Democratic Party as a Pyrrhic victory if, as a consequence, a certain number of members are considering leaving the Czech Social Democratic Party?

[Zeman] The slim majority by which I won testifies to the fact that there is a strong opinion group within the Social Democratic Party who are in favor of a dynamic, aggressive, and demanding opposition policy. If we get rid of certain emotional ways of expressing our ideas—which was good for the party's infant terrible, but not for its chairman—then I believe that our rational efforts to become a really efficient opposition will convince even the rival group of moderates.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] No small number of delegates have indicated that a chairman who had anything in common with the Communist Party would be unacceptable to them. What conclusion do you draw from this?

[Zeman] I was a rank-and-file member of the Communist Party since the Prague Spring [1968] until 1970, when I was expelled for writing a text comparing communism to fascism. In July 1968, I submitted an application for membership of the Social Democratic Party, and I am sorry that no one answered it, which was due to well known circumstances. At the age of 25, I was named as a rightist on a list up drawn by the Communist Party. In the State Security files I appeared as an enemy. If these four facts do not satisfy my opponents, then I do not know what would.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Jiri Svoboda has been calling for the unification of the left wing for a long time. How would you react to a possible offer from his faction for cooperation?

[Zeman] I think that after my election, Vaclav Klaus, as well as Jiri Svoboda, will find out that we can be a go-ahead and efficient party with respect to the extreme right, as well as to the extreme left. I still consider the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia to be the extreme left.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] On the other hand, you are very close, so it seems, to the Liberal and Social Union. You were even a coauthor of its election program.

[Zeman] I consider the Liberal and Social Union to be a natural partner for the Social Democratic Party, that is, the democratic opposition. In the same way, we must also cooperate with the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia, with the Union of Pensioners, and with other political entities of a similar orientation, including the Civic Movement. As before the elections, I still believe that we should have created a realistic bloc, and we should even have considered creating a shadow government.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] In your opinion, what are the chances for unity being maintained in the Club of Czech Social Democratic Party Deputies in parliament, in which the adherents of the moderate wing, led by your opponent, Pavel Novak, prevail?

[Zeman] The existence of various streams of opinion should do no harm to our club of deputies. The insufficient information service and insufficient expertise are doing much more harm to our deputies. If we created quality conditions for our deputies—this is a difficult and laborious process—many differences of opinion would become less sharp.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] You are going to bolster discipline?

[Zeman] I do not want to speak about discipline, and I hate speaking about party discipline. We are not going to carry out purges, or expel anyone. Commanding is not our style. Our style is cooperation, argument, and feedback between the two streams.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] How do your methods differ from those of the previous leadership, who were arguing and discussing endlessly.

[Zeman] In the past, people whose motive was their own prestige—rather than the two opinion streams—conducted discussions. We are not going to shun a meaningful discussion which would shed light on the problem from different angles. If there is a decision taken by the majority, however, our officials and deputies should present this standpoint to the public and push for it. This is the only way to throw away our crutches and to start walking on our own.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] You have repeated several times that the government's concept for economic and social transformation is unacceptable to you. Do you still have this opinion as chairman of the Social Democratic Party?

[Zeman] The government concept is based on monetarism, which has failed in almost every advanced country, including the United States recently. Our concept is close to that of Bill Clinton's. His Democratic Party was tough, even aggressive, toward the Bush administration. Why should the Czech Social Democratic Party not adopt similar methods?

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Are you prepared to lead your party into confrontation with the government, even at the price of creating a fatal conflict with the coalition and a crisis?

[Zeman] No conflict is fatal. The opposition that does not confront the government is no opposition, but a party of the National Front type. We are not going to throw inkpots at our colleagues in parliament, or deliver Sladek-type speeches in parliament, either. However, we intend to confront the government concept with our alternative.

CSSD Official Expects Deputies To Follow New Line

AU0403172193 Prague CTK in English 1402 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—The new leadership of the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) will discuss the party's basic parliament strategy with the CSSD parliament group of deputies on March 8, CSSD Deputy Chairman Vaclav Grulich told CTK today.

Grulich does not rule out the possibility that some members of the CSSD deputies' group will not want to become reconciled with the new situation within the party.

Grulich believes that the leadership will manage to gain a maximum number of the CSSD deputies for the new party line.

The issue will be discussed by newly-elected CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman and the head of the CSSD deputies' group Karel Hrdy on March 7.

Grulich said that the current CSSD team, though consisting of different opinion streams, seems to be able to cooperate well. The opinion streams should not be taken too seriously, Grulich said. It seems to me more and more that the streams were artificially declared in view of the forthcoming party congress, Grulich told CTK.

Also expected is a series of personal talks between Zeman and individual deputies from the CSSD, Grulich added.

CSSD Leaders Discuss Cooperation

AU0403172093 Prague CTK in English 1313 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—The pro-government centrist faction within the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) can cooperate well in the party leadership with the radical stream, the representative of the latter group and newly elected CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman said at a press conference here today.

The centrists' leading representative, CSSD Deputy Chairman Pavel Novak, however, said that it was only a question of division of tasks between the party chairman and deputy chairmen, which was agreed at the CSSD leadership's session on Monday [1 March]. Zeman's political strategy and his intention to constantly badger the government were not discussed at the session.

Novak, who was the most dangerous rival to Zeman's candidacy for the post of party chairman, told CTK that he will strive for a compromise in the two CSSD factions' different views.

Zeman said that one of the party's first tasks is to begin close cooperation with trade unions.

CSSD Honorary Chairman Jiri Horak, who gave up his candidacy for the chairmanship, confirmed to CTK that he will leave for the USA at the beginning of April. He intends to alternate his stays in the USA and in the Czech Republic every half year.

[Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech on 3 March on page 2, under the headline "Responsibility Divided Within the CSSD," carries a 200-word "(frk)"-signed report on the party's first news conference since the election of Milos Zeman as CSSD chairman. According to the report, "responsibility has been divided among the deputy chairmen. Petr Moravek will be responsible for local policy, Vaclav Grulich for parliamentary policy, Jaromir Kuca for social policy and the party's internal organization, Petra Buzkova for communicating with the mass media and the public, and Pavel Novak for foreign contacts, economic policy, and the party's economic affairs."]

Interview With Defense Minister Antonin Baudys

AU0403125993 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Feb 93 p 10

[Interview with Defense Minister Antonin Baudys by Anna Silova; place and date not given: "The Army's Difficult Starting Position"]

[Text] The Army of the Czech Republic has entered the first year of its existence with a new name and its old ailments preserved. It is the Army's ambition to become a well trained army so it can join the West European defense alliance. However, when we examined a bullying case at the end of January—a case that ended in shooting

over the heads of sleeping soldiers—we met with phenomena that do not correspond to the idea of a functioning army: theft, hatred of basic military service, shortage of basic conscripts and professional soldiers, unmaintained barracks, nervous officers, blackmail, and bullying.

[Silova] Sir, what are you going to do to make the Army functional?

[Baudys] We must begin everything simultaneously. The geopolitical situation in Europe has absolutely changed, and our ideas about defense doctrine have changed too. Our concept for the Army must be derived from this doctrine. This doctrine requires a new concept for the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. There are not enough financial resources, the Army is having difficulty covering its basic needs. We need a number of new laws on the Czech Army and defense of the republic. Personnel problems should be addressed. A new personnel policy should be introduced. We have a problem with military education, health care, and many other things. No one of these can be solved gradually. Bullying, which you mentioned, is one of our problems.

[Silova] Why has the Army been unsuccessful in effectively preventing violence, extortion, and violation of rights and interests of the soldiers, despite all proclamations about the humanization of the military service?

[Baudys] Bullying is a general phenomena in the educational system, starting, in fact in kindergarten, where the stronger usurps the weaker. The fact that the bullying phenomenon is stronger in the Army is the consequence of the declining discipline and morale. This is a phenomenon that accompanies every profound change in society. In the Army, however, it is a consequence of declining discipline, which, in turn, is a consequence of the lower calibre of the staff of officers and non-commissioned officers, and of the attitude and the personality of the commander. Where there is a good commander, there is no bullying. When I spoke with representatives of the U.S. Army and some West European armies, they almost did not understand this word. It is possible that the fact that there are army chaplains in democratic armies plays a role. When I mentioned army chaplains some accused me of wanting to chase away the political instructors and replace them with priests. This is nonsense, of course. The function of army chaplains lies in the fact that soldiers can deliver themselves into their care without fear, and they have the guarantee that their complaints will be investigated.

[Silova] We asked soldiers whom they would like to address if they have personal or other problems. No one wanted to address a commander, or any other army functionary.

[Baudys] If a soldier says he has no one to go to because he trusts no one, then this means that he knows the commander would either not hear him, or, if he did, he would do nothing anyway. This is an example of a bad commander. Some commanders will be angry with me

for saying this—and for what I have said in other places—but it is true. This is one of the many problems of the humanization of the Army. Today, a commander should be different from a commander of 10 or 20 years ago. On the other hand, we must not forget that in the first years after November [1989] the role of the Army was underestimated somewhat—since it was presented as a parasite—and this had an impact on the work of the commanders, who lost their security.

Bullying is a complicated problem and it does not seem to me this problem can be solved by adopting systemic measures. To a certain degree, reducing the length of basic military service could help. The main problem is, however, the education and training of commanding officers. The fact that the system of social and psychological care has not been introduced in the Army plays a role, too.

[Silova] Speaking about the quality of the officers, we must not forget your statement that officers who approved the occupation [by the Soviet Army in and after 1968] in fact committed high treason. They are still serving in the Army and influence its profile.

[Baudys] You are returning to the conference of professional soldiers. No one reproaches these soldiers with not having been able to defend themselves—that is a different thing. We can all imagine why the majority of them agreed—it was a question of existence. At the moment of truth, they chose the easier way. By the same token, however, we could also say: What kind of people were they who behaved in a similar way during civilian screening [of the Communist party members after the Soviet-led invasion in 1968]? I do not want to exaggerate, but what would you say about an officer who agrees with a treacherous attack against his own country, a country he is supposed to defend, and who is paid to defend it? There is no other answer. I have never said we must kick everyone out of the army who agreed with the entry of foreign armies. I only wanted to say that the problem is here and we cannot forget it entirely. If we did, we would also have to forget this problem outside the Army. All crimes of the past would go unpunished and moral sins would be simply erased. I know people who stood at the gates of barracks and did not let the Soviet soldiers in. I am also aware of the terrible fate of many of them. I do not want to say that everyone should have behaved in that manner. This is nothing else than an appeal to their conscience. We are talking morale here, not practical measures.

[Silova] What will be the practical measures?

[Baudys] A minister only can do what lies within his jurisdiction, what he is entitled to do, and what is within his possibilities. There are no simple solutions. General solutions are never good solutions. Those who are not needed—that is, political instructors who were crippling the minds of 19- and 20- year olds for 20 or I do not know how many years—should not serve in the army. They do not want to accept it. No wonder, since those

who did all that, who controlled it—all those Politburo members, Presidium members, secretaries of the Communist Party Central Committee—have not been made to answer for all they did and for communist crimes remaining unpunished. Today, many political instructors say they have qualifications to become commanders. Their qualifications are the same as those of a graduate of an economic school who has been playing the saxophone in a band for 20 years and would now apply for the job of director of a factory only because he had graduated in economics. Let him play the saxophone, let him teach Marxism—if someone will pay him—or let him do something else.

[Silova] We spoke about improving the quality of the staff of commanders, and we know there is a shortage of professional soldiers in the Army. Where do you want to hire them?

[Baudys] Unfortunately, quite a number of things have been preserved in the Army, which was the reason thousands of young commissioned officers and officers left. They are precisely those we need now. The new personnel policy that we are drafting should test the individual properties of all officers and commissioned officers, as is done in Western armies or in big firms. It is a job for many years to come. If we cut the length of the basic military service, we will have to increase the number of professionals. Today, the ratio between basic conscripts and professionals is 4:6. We would like to increase this ratio to 1:1, and then to increase the number of professionals gradually. However, this is very expensive; you cannot train an expert at modern weapons in 12 months.

[Silova] Do you expect basic military service will be made shorter in the foreseeable future?

[Baudys] Yes, soldiers recruited this January will serve only one year. I do not deny this will cause troubles, but all over the world they are transforming armies with a high number of professionals into completely professional armies.

[Silova] What chances are there that, in view of the well-known aversion to military service, you will be any more able to find professional soldiers?

[Baudys] I do not think the Czech nation would be different in that respect than other nations. As far as I know, there is no shortage of soldiers in other countries. If they know they can learn something and they will be working with top technology, if they are paid well, and if their military training is useful to them, then there will certainly be enough young people interested in the service.

[Silova] We heard from the soldiers that they think it is illogical to serve 18 months in the Army as unpaid guards, stokers, cleaners, and kitchen assistants—for food and a negligible amount of pocket money. Shouldn't the auxiliary work be done by civilians?

[Baudys] Soldiers serve in the military to gain knowledge and master special skills, not to do auxiliary work, or unnecessarily guard some abandoned building that is in the Army's care. It would be a very cheap exploitation of soldiers' labor. Our semi-progressive—and our professional Army in the future—should be so organized as to be able to hire civilian companies to do these services, if possible. Of course, this means costs. I want the soldiers to undergo the necessary basic training for 12 months and to extend their qualifications. I do not want them to do nonsensical things they should not do. I can also consider the possibility that auxiliary work could be done by conscripts who applied for civilian service. I do not think that basic military service is wasted time. Soldiers can acquire special qualifications for the civilian sector, too.

As regards pocket money, 190 korunas is too little. I believe we forgot to adjust for inflation here.

[Silova] Is there any military institution to help soldiers seeking jobs when they have finished military service?

[Baudys] Soldiers are protected by law from losing their jobs. But there are many exceptions to the law, and the reality is different. They return to civilian life and start anew. The nature of military service does not give them much chance to seek jobs before the end of service. I must admit that at present there is no institution in the Army to help them seek civilian jobs. For the time being, there are certain attempts to create a substitute system, for example, advisory workplaces of the Union of Army Youth. In cooperation with the Ministry of Education a project is being drafted, a project to deal with a network of advisory centers. It is in a nascent state, for the time being. We have made no agreement on a systemic solution yet.

[Silova] It is no secret that conditions in the barracks lag behind the general standard of living, and they are constantly getting worse. Is there a team within the Army to deal with the situation of this social group and to set the limits beyond which even a poor country could not go?

[Baudys] I must say that military training is no picnic—anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, I was able to see for myself when we visited the communication regiment in Beroun together with the president that the accommodations there were really at the tolerable limits: dozens of people together, a gloomy environment, few opportunities for personal hygiene, and 7 korunas a year per soldier for books and papers. The public was convinced—and me, too—that large sums of money were flowing into the Army. Yes, they did, but they were used to maintain a large army with a large amount of technology we did not need, and which we had here because of the offensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact. There was no money to buy things a soldier needs for his daily life, for a certain quality of accommodation and food, services, and hygiene. There was no money for that. Our buildings are falling into disrepair.

A seminar will examine the status of conscripts as a special social group. This seminar is being prepared—with the participation of the Union of Army Youth—by the Defense and Security Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. For the time being, however, the possibilities of our economy are a limiting factor. We are now dealing with the question of how to solve these problems, and many others, including replacing our weapons.

[Silova] And replacing the uniforms, too?

[Baudys] Yes. With the president I watched a parade of new uniforms. They are very nice, they would bring us closer to the European standard, and the psychological effect of separating the previous army from that of today would certainly not be negligible for the Army, or for the public. However, if you do not have any money and must economize on heating, hot water, detergents, ammunition, and the training of pilots, then uniforms are an enormous luxury—somewhere in the last places on the list of priorities. We need 30 billion korunas for the basic needs of the Army, and we only have 23. Moreover, we have a lot of debts from previous years. In the budget, there are no provisions for inflation, value added tax, etc. For our Army to function better, to be able to replace its weapons and systems, we would need over 30 billion korunas. Of course, we know we can receive only as much as our economy can afford. But the Army's budget is at the tolerable limits. Should this be the case in the future, too, we could not expect our Army to be capable of combat.

[Silova] The education system, health care, the social sector... all are lacking sufficient funds, as the Army is. Can we afford an army at all?

[Baudys] If parliament decides that we do not need an army, and the voters give them such a mandate, then this will become parliament's decision, and we would be able to hire mercenaries for much more money. I have heard it asked many times why we should have an army, when in living memory this army has never been used in combat? Every sovereign state in the world has its army for its own defense. The situation in Europe is much more complicated today than it was in the bipolar world of the past. We are a relatively small country with a relatively small army, which is prepared to defend the country in local conflicts. In no way will we be able to defend ourselves in large global conflicts, or against an enemy several times stronger than we are. That is why there is the Western European Union and NATO, which is a system of collective defense in which the army of each and every country has its own place. From the point of view of foreign policy and international relations, a good-quality, efficient, and functional army is proof that the state is functional—and in international talks the country is treated as such.

[Silova] Will NATO be willing to accept our Army in this situation?

[Baudys] Before they let us come closer, before they admit us as a member, we will be subjected to a tough

test, and they will examine whether we are prepared for membership. This last factor, however, is not the most important. Because of that, it is very important that our units participate in actions such as UN peacekeeping forces. This is of great importance to us. Of course, our preparedness depends on our stable democratic society, a stable and prosperous economy, and, of course, a functional army.

Defense Ministry Denies Report of Army Purge

AU0403160093 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 93 p 2

[National Defense Ministry Statement issued in Prague on 26 February: "The Ministry of National Defense Responds to RUDE PRAVO Article"]

[Text] National Defense Ministry Spokesman Zdenek Borkovec has sent us a statement on the article carried by RUDE PRAVO under the headline "Senior Officers Refuse To Support Army Purge" on 26 February.

Herewith, we publish the full text of the statement:

On 26 February 1993, RUDE PRAVO carried on the front page, under the headline "Senior Officers Refuse To Support Army Purge," a report that contains numerous false and misrepresenting statements concerning the operation of the Czech Republic Defense Ministry.

Therefore, according to Article 19 of Law 81/66, I request that a correction be published as follows:

Press correction of the RUDE PRAVO report "Senior Officers Refuse To Support Army Purge."

This article contains numerous false and misrepresenting statements concerning the operation of the Czech Republic Defense Ministry. Therefore the Defense Ministry declares the following:

- It is not true that a directive exists that regulates cadre (i.e., personnel) issues in the Army of the Czech Republic. Therefore, no such a directive could have been submitted to the defense minister for signing, and for the same reason, senior ministry officials could not have refused to sign it.
- It is not true that discharging officers over the age of 45 has been considered.
- It is not true that discharging graduates from Soviet military schools has been considered.
- The claim that the intelligence administration is to be abolished must be taken as utter nonsense.

Moreover, the Defense Ministry announces that a working group of high ranking officials was organized in the Defense Ministry and General Staff. One of its tasks was to process documentation for drafting a directive that would provide for better quality for the future command of the Army of the Czech Republic. The team

completed its work, and the results were submitted to the defense minister for his perusal. The basic criteria proposed are based on the effort to maintain the intellectual and expert capacity of the Army Command, and under no circumstances permit a general purge in the Army that could be in any way reminiscent of the popular normalization purge of the former Communist regime.

Note from the RUDE PRAVO editorial office: The information we published came from a well-informed source whose integrity we have no reason to doubt.

Official Says Converting Temelin Unrealistic

AU0403172493 Prague CTK in English 2053 GMT 2
Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—Converting the Temelin nuclear power plant in Southern Bohemia to a gas installation is entirely unrealistic both from the technical and economic point of view, Czech Deputy Minister of Industry and Trade Vratislav Ludvik told CTK today.

He said adapting Temelin to gas would require construction of new facilities and an investment of up to 30 billion crowns (1 billion USD).

Production of the planned 2000 megawatts of electric power would require 2.3 billion cubic metres of natural gas annually which would cost up to 20 billion crowns (700 million USD). In addition to this, the annual cost of operating a gas-fueled power plant is about seven times higher than operating a nuclear plant, Ludvik said.

The Czech Republic's current annual consumption of natural gas is 6.5 billion cubic metres. A gas-fueled Temelin would raise gas needs by one third, which would require finding new suppliers and building new pipelines, Ludvik said.

He added that debate over the possibility of converting Temelin to a gas installation was started by Austria at a meeting of experts from the two countries on February 9. At the meeting, Austria proffered a study on adapting its Zwentendorf nuclear power to gas fuel and expressed willingness to provide assistance in reconstructing Temelin in the same way.

Austrian President Klestil Meets With Meciar*AU0403171793 Prague CTK in English 2138 GMT 2 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 2 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar spoke in favour of stronger cooperation in building an infrastructure between Vienna and Bratislava at his meeting today with Austrian President Thomas Klestil, who was taking part in the inauguration of the president of the Slovak Republic.

According to Klestil's spokesman, Meciar said that Slovakia's way back to Europe goes through Austria, which is an indispensable neighbour.

Meciar also suggested an early meeting of the economic and finance ministers of the two countries. According to the Austrian Press Agency APA, Klestil expressed his conviction that a meeting with his Slovak counterpart might take place in Vienna within the foreseeable time.

During his meeting with Klestil, Meciar promoted the idea of the intensive building-up of infrastructure between Austria and Slovakia, above all to facilitate oil processing. APA says that one of his suggestions was that the existing oil pipeline coming to Slovakia from Russia might be extended as far as the oil refinery in Schwechat and also joined to the Adria pipeline. Besides, according to APA, a fast intercity link should join Vienna and Bratislava.

Meciar and Klestil also discussed questions of European security structures.

Meciar Addresses HZDS Meeting in Bratislava*LD0403204593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] An all-Slovak meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] was held in Bratislava last night to mark the second anniversary of the movement's foundation. Present at the meeting was HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar and HZDS Deputy Chairmen Augustin Marian Huska and Milan Knazko. Also present were Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, deputies of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, members of the cabinet, and other public personalities. Vladimir Meciar, in his closing speech, summed up the Slovak Government's intentions for the immediate future as well as for years to come. We have selected the following points from his address:

[Begin Meciar recording] The main point is to stabilize the value of the Slovak koruna. So far the government has performed well in the struggle to stabilize the Slovak koruna, despite the pressure we have been put under. Whether we continue to perform well depends on citizens too. Had we devalued by 30 percent, prices in Slovakia would have gone up by 54 percent and this would be unbearable for the people. Moreover, it would have resulted in the devaluation of national assets by 50

percent since all we are selling would be sold in privatization at nearly half price. It would have resulted in significant deterioration in the level of employment and in the activity of organizations dependent on imports.

But the stabilization of financial management is necessary also for another reason: to ensure an adequate money supply and to relieve enterprises from the yoke of permanent insolvency and the inability to rustle up enough money for wages, for production, and for their very basic existence in places where they do know how to work and where they follow viable programs.

The government cannot watch these developments impassively. It must begin, in a realistic and truly effective way, to make the entire financial system of the state—bank services and all sources—healthier. The following figures will demonstrate that this is not an easy task.

There is a deficit of approximately 60 billion korunas in the balance of payments of enterprises. The National Assets Fund is suffering a deficit of 15 billion korunas. Likewise, the state budget deficit will be rather high because there is an accumulation of 1991 and 1992 results. If we follow this path, we will lead the country to destruction. But if we begin to face this and realistically deal with it, we will achieve prosperity.

There is another important point. We understand the state as a matter of the heart, the result of a political struggle, an issue affecting our consciousness and conscience. But the state is also a marketplace. The state is a place where tolls and dues have to be collected. Therefore the government must try and act as the manager of this marketplace. And marketplace management amounts to keeping good order in the market. It amounts to taking stock. It amounts to putting an end to paying good Slovak korunas for imports of shabby bazaar goods. [applause]

It amounts to providing protection for all honest entrepreneurs and getting on with persecuting all those who damage the state and steal from other citizens through tax evasion and other means. It amounts to introducing a system of fair competition and of equal principles and opportunities for all. Everything that is paid for by the state must be selected on the basis of public bidding and not through haggling and such influences as family connections or personal profit. [applause]

It amounts to introducing measures reflecting the imperative that people working in politics who are at the same time involved in the economic sphere should not be able to abuse their position. For example, laws spelling out the incompatibility of political and economic interests in areas where this is likely to damage the state must be adopted.

Measures for making the market more efficient should include the proper organization of imports and exports. We want to export more. We want to be less dependent

on imports. We want—and we must—add value to our work. We have outstanding and highly qualified people, but their pay is poor.

If we want to talk about these questions, it will be necessary to adopt very difficult measures within a short period of time, also in terms of those who constantly want to take, do not contribute anything, and only consume. We have in mind the production sphere, enterprises which lost the ability to recover. They must fall. We must seek support for those enterprises that we can help recover. At the same time we must realistically say that it is necessary to start the process of structural changes in Slovakia, not only talk about it.

Structural changes mean different infrastructure, different infrastructure of transport, services, communications, health, and social and educational spheres. The processes, whether in the sphere of health care or education, cannot continue forever if current officials refer to the state sector as the private sector and not as the public sector. If we want to solve viability we must actively turn to the group which is literally the (?aim) of economic life, to small and medium business people. There was enough talk about their need for help. They need action.

But, at the same time, one has to say that political decisions may and must be made only by the HZDS, and that in the organizations that appeal to private businesses the government has not found partners. These organizations twice proposed measures which the government adopted, but immediately afterwards they were against them. Instead of submitting a third proposal, they say that they have to go on strike or provoke unrest. That is not our path; that is the path of those who do not mean well for the state and society.

The questions connected with economic prosperity have three phases. In the first phase, the decline must be halted. It will last at least until the end of this year. In the second phase, we will have to stabilize the situation so that it will not make a turn for the worse. In the third phase, we will have to start a radical economic regeneration, so now we have to lay down foundations for the activities which will bear future results. If we cope with this, Slovakia will be a prospering country. This is not only a pious wish; it is the result of real analysis, the result of the possibilities which the Slovak Republic has at its disposal, as well as the means and viewpoints which the government gained after examining foreign markets.

We should proceed from political sovereignty to economic sovereignty, from economic decline to economic prosperity. These are the tasks of the next few days which we must carry out. Assessing political possibilities, policies, and the behavior of the rest of our partners, the HZDS guarantees that this process of changes will be successful and well organized. Just as we have swiftly managed to solve the state setup for the benefit of the Slovak Republic, we will manage to halt economic chaos and marasmus and change it into a prospering economy

in the coming decade so that citizens may find in it their fulfillment and their possibilities. [end recording]

At the meeting yesterday the HZDS chairman also analyzed the functioning of the movement in the period between the election and the rise of new statehood. We selected the following from the segment in which he dwelt on the current domestic political situation.

[Begin Meciar recording] Slovakia is waiting for its next, new, and specific policy which will make it possible for the broadest strata of people to unite in their striving for final objectives. The era when it was enough to be against is over. Now it is necessary to be for.

Although our opinions of how this goal can be attained may differ, no one has the right to negate the basic political interests of the state and to work against them, no matter whether he modifies or conceals these efforts by a drive toward plurality and democracy. We expected that the parties which were against the rise of statehood would draw specific consequences from this phenomenon, that at least they would draw conclusions in their policies and that they would admit that they were wrong. But the fact that they are not going to do this puts us on alert, for we want to know whether this is an attempt to go back to old ways or whether it is merely a lack of understanding and an inability to accept the new situation that has arisen.

The HZDS will continue to be a movement; it will be a united movement. [applause] Those who wait for the movement to break up, for the movement not to be able to sustain the spectrum of views in it, for the tension that naturally exists within it because of new tasks, will not live to see this happen. The basic political struggle waged for the movement's unity is currently taking place in the [HZDS] parliamentary club of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. This parliamentary club, with its 74 votes and with the support of deputies from some other political parties, forms the basis for the political stabilization of Slovakia and the system formed after the elections. While many say that the basis of democracy rests purely in the formation of coalition governments, and while they are trying to weaken the position of the HZDS by exerting various forms of pressure—well, we would like to remind those people of the fact that both the FRG and Austria achieved their greatest prosperity precisely at the time when their political subjects were in a strong position.

Power does not rest in numbers; it rests in unity! It is not we who are isolating ourselves; others want to isolate us! But they can do this only if we allow them to do so. We remain open to parties whose programs are based purely on national issues and which are now contemplating what to do next. We remain open to the parties that did not follow the policy of Slovak statehood and which are also contemplating their future. We remain firmly embedded in the political center and this center is now the (?guarantee) of the Slovak Republic's political stability.

The HZDS is still standing on the threshold of its development. The tasks it is carrying out are historically unique and irreplaceable. The HZDS was the subject that set Slovak history into motion. It is a movement providing purpose and future for the work of 5.3 million people. The HZDS is a guarantor of the Slovak Republic's future prosperity. [applause] To belong to it, to claim loyalty to it, is a matter of honor! [end recording]

Andrejcek Sole Defense Minister Candidate

AU0403213093 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Feb 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Imrich Andrejcek Is the Sole Candidate; First Meeting of the Slovak Republic Defense Council"]

[Text] Bratislava—The first working meeting of the Slovak Republic Defense Council since the Slovak Republic became independent was held in Bratislava yesterday. The meeting was chaired by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

The meeting evaluated the fulfillment of main tasks in the sphere of the defense, security, and protection of the Slovak Republic in 1992. It also assessed the results of an inquiry into the use of noninvestment resources for the economic mobilization [hospodarska mobilizacia] and civil defense of the population.

After the meeting Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that Imrich Andrejcek was the sole candidate of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] for the post of Slovak minister of defense.

According to the prime minister, the candidacy for this post is a matter of political agreement and the HZDS has no reason to reassess its position. It will, however, continue talks with the Slovak National Party [SNS] on this issue because the SNS's objections to Imrich Andrejcek are unfounded in substance and are not supported by any facts. Andrejcek's activity—which the HZDS, unlike the SNS, knows very well—has been far more nationally oriented than the activity of the overwhelming majority of his critics, Meciar said.

Three scenarios of security measures have been worked out to protect and defend the Gabčíkovo hydroelectric power project and to guarantee the security of the people living in the area, the Slovak prime minister continued. The material will be discussed once again, however, according to the prime minister's words, to secure maximum protection of the population from the viewpoint of territorial reach.

Report Lists 'Unofficial' Presidential Aides

AU0403133293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "News from the Slovak Presidential Office: Still Unofficial...."]

[Text] Bratislava—The TA SR has managed to obtain from unofficial sources close to the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic the names of some of its future staffers. Jan Klepac, present chairman of the Christian Social Union, is to become the Slovak president's adviser for foreign policy affairs; Jaroslav Antal, employee of the foreign affairs department of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, is to become head of protocol; and Major General Mojmir Hergovic, former commander of the Bratislava Garrison, is to become his adviser for military issues. Other "president's men," whose exact positions have not yet been specified, are Jozef Sitko, chief editor of the weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK, and Pavol Pollak, who currently works in the Office of the President. The name of NARODNA OBRODA staff journalist Ivan Horsky has appeared in connection with the president's mass media policy. Radmila Weberova is to become director of the Secretariat. Head of Government Office Ivan Lexa, who is the government commissioner for preparing the Office of the President, said, when confronted with speculations that he should become head of the Office of the President, that no one has officially approached him in this matter. He added that recently he had clearly confirmed his intention to stay in the office that he currently performs. The name of a candidate for the post of the head of the Office of the Slovak President is not known.

Newspapers Review Meciar-Knazko Dispute

AU0403172793 Prague CTK in English 0831 GMT 3 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava Mar 3 (CTK)—The open conflict between Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Foreign Minister Milan Knazko threatens to explode, comments today's daily NARODNA OBRODA. It is clear to anyone who knows (Meciar's) character that before long, this conflict will reach the point of "either him or me", notes the author.

The other ministers in Meciar's cabinet have positioned themselves as loyal cohorts at the side of their boss, writes NARODNA OBRODA, as if they have forgotten that what has happened to Knazko today could very well happen to them tomorrow. True, only if they express their own personality and present their own opinion as different from that of the premier. Meciar is apparently preparing the public and President Kovac for the submission of his (Meciar's) proposal to remove Knazko from his post, writes the daily. The escalation of this conflict just before the inauguration of the new president was not exactly the most appropriate gift for Kovac, comments NARODNA OBRODA.

NOVY CAS writes that the Meciar-Knazko conflict is also interesting because if the opposition everywhere else in Europe were to create shadow cabinets, in Slovakia the government itself would probably create its own shadow cabinet. This is most strikingly displayed in Knazko's ministry, writes the paper. Only the second to

last blow will be struck at the awaited March congress of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), comments NOVY CAS. The last blow will apparently belong to Meciar and his ten-minute television addresses. Au revoir, Milan the author concludes.

Today's SMENA also turns its attention to the conflict within the HZDS. I consider what is happening in Slovakia right now to be supremely democratic, and it is even possible to say that we are enjoying democracy in its purest form, writes the author of commentary. Although the HZDS is not completely unified, no one must fear for his existence or his life..., writes the paper.

Does (German) Chancellor Kohl have it easier than Meciar? Mustn't even he convince his friends in the coalition and mustn't he have divine patience with his own party?, writes SMENA.

Upon Meciar's return from Brussels last week, he was questioned about whether they had asked him there why Knazko had not come as planned, writes today's PRACA. Meciar then reportedly said, after the assent of his adviser Roman Zelenay, that no one is interested in that because it is our own internal affair. It is possible that he really was not asked, but it is probable that heads were at least scratched over it abroad, comments PRACA. If something similar were to happen again in a week, writes the author, it is possible that Brussels and the rest of the world will stop taking Slovakia seriously, even before they are even able to begin to take Europe's new country into consideration.

Knazko Discusses Staying as Foreign Minister

AU0403214493 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 3 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report on an interview with Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by an unidentified TA SR reporter in Bratislava on 2 March: "I Cannot Just Leave"]

[Text] Bratislava—"I walked out of the [1 March] government meeting because I recalled that tomorrow exactly two years will have passed since my speech on television in defense of Mr. Meciar. This occurred to me at the government meeting, and at that moment I felt out of place there and left.... I just could not sit there any longer." This is how Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Knazko yesterday commented on his absence at the cabinet meeting the day before yesterday.

Milan Knazko is waiting for the results of the work of a commission of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, which is evaluating the performance of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs thus far and the outlook for the first half of 1993. He admitted that certain mistakes have occurred in the more than six months of the ministry's operations, but stressed: "I cannot accept the idea that my department is the poorest performing government department of all. I firmly trust that the history of not quite two years ago will not repeat itself [reference to Prime Minister Meciar's dismissal by

Slovak parliament in April 1991 and the ensuing public protests]. I would not underestimate the public, which has good memory and forms its own opinion about matters." According to Knazko's words, the deputies who are evaluating the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should take into account public opinion.

Regarding his disagreements with Prime Minister Meciar, Milan Knazko said: "One cannot solve domestic political problems or even personal relations at the expense of damaging interests, be it the interests of one's movement in the sphere of domestic policy or the interests of one's country in the sphere of foreign policy. I do not think that such strong-arm solutions that are full of conflict will yield a satisfactory result." In this context the minister proposes the government's closer cooperation with the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Foreign Affairs Committee.

Regarding the intensifying rumors about his dismissal, Milan Knazko noted that, in the event of his being recalled, he will return to the NRSR as deputy. He added, however, that "recalling me will not resolve the situation...., I do not think that it would be a good solution. I cannot accept the argument that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the worst-performing government department, and I will never accept it, because of the dozens of dedicated staffers and specialists who are doing their jobs well. If other reasonable arguments could be found, the minister said, and if his resignation helped solve the problems of Slovakia in the social sphere, education, health care, and the economy, he would be ready to resign. "Foreign policy issues are not what affects our citizens' everyday lives," he added. The minister expressed his determination to stay in his post, even if the government's unwillingness to cooperate should complicate his work.

When asked about his remaining in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in the event of his being recalled, Milan Knazko did not reply directly. "Let us leave that up to future developments; there will be an assembly, and views are taking shape. I believe that there are many perceptive and intelligent people in the HZDS who do not want a strong-arm solution and who seek a compromise.... Until now, there has also been place in the movement for people who had their own opinion and who were so singular that they stood by it."

Regarding the transfer of jurisdiction over foreign trade from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Economy, Milan Knazko drew attention to the "remarkable fact that the victorious movement entrusted the most important instruments of domestic economic policy and, subsequently, also the crucial instruments of external economic relations into the hands of the Slovak National Party. It is strange that no one has given this a thought yet," the minister added.

As to the cancellation of his trips to Brussels and Geneva, he expressed the conviction that "this decision will still be reversed; I will strive for it in parliament

because no one has the right to evidently and consciously damage a new state in the sphere of foreign policy." The prime minister's statement, addressed to him at the government meeting, that "why should I take off for Geneva when I will be taking off anyway," is more appropriate for the auditorium of the Park of Culture and Repose [in Bratislava where the HZDS organizes monthly public rallies] than for a cabinet meeting, Milan Knazko said.

Asked whether he believed that he would have achieved more in Brussels than the prime minister did [during his visit on 23-24 February], the minister replied: "I cannot get rid of the feeling that someone is doing my job for me from a position of power, to be able to accuse me of not doing my job."

According to Milan Knazko, his departure from the political scene is unacceptable under the present circumstances. He added that if parliament decided to strip him of his post, its members would be meeting him every day as their fellow deputy. "I am looking forward to those meetings," Minister Milan Knazko said with a smile in concluding the interview.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 March on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word interview with Milan Knazko by PRAVDA reporter Julius Loerincz entitled "I Stand on the Ground, I Am Not Flying." In the interview, which was held in Bratislava on 2 March, Knazko reiterates his rejection of Meciar's criticism of his work as foreign minister and his determination to "persuade" parliament to change the government's decision to cancel his trips to Geneva and Brussels. Knazko stresses that the planned meeting in Brussels between the foreign ministers of the Visegrad group and the foreign ministers of Germany, France, and Great Britain will be the first such meeting since Slovakia became independent and that "it is unthinkable to send just the state secretary to such a meeting." Asked how the conflict between him and Meciar originated, Knazko tells the PRAVDA reporter: "You may remember that at the time when the first preparations for the division of [the federation's] property with the Czech Republic were made, I criticized some procedures and statements, such as Meciar's statement that the treaty with Germany should be renegotiated. I would like to draw your attention to German President Richard von Weizsaecker's telegram of congratulations to our president, in which he says that relations will be developed on the basis of the previously concluded agreement between the CSFR and Germany, which will apply also to relations between Germany and Slovakia. They made it clear to us that it was inappropriate to call the treaty in question. This also had a negative echo in other countries that neighbor on Slovakia. I could cite more such examples...."]

Interior Minister Discusses Czech Border Issue

LD0403182193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Excerpts] At its session yesterday the Czech Republic government discussed, among other things, a proposal

concerning the protection of the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics. It arrived at the conclusion that a border control change was inevitable. Despite this the government has not approved the proposed document because it was not properly prepared and because it lacked comprehensiveness. Because we were interested in hearing the opinion of Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna on this problem, Jarmila Tosecka asked him for an interview today.

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] Minister, has your counterpart, Mr. Ruml, told you about the outcome of the Czech Government session yesterday?

[Tuchyna] No, he did not and I do not expect him to do so; it is indeed a matter for the Czech side, and the decision it has made stands. The Slovak side has no say in it.

[Tosecka] But Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said on Czech Television yesterday—and I can quote—the government is a little worried over the insufficient cooperation from the Slovak side on this issue. Can you comment on this remark, Minister?

[Tuchyna] I am not aware of us being insufficiently cooperative. After all, we have concluded a number of agreements, and we want these agreements to be fulfilled. Should the Czech side be interested in another solution, then it must first officially say that it regards these agreements as invalid or stipulate the need to amend parts of the agreements. Afterwards we can actually open negotiations. For the time being we are observing agreements which are in force and which no one has abrogated. [passage omitted]

[Tosecka] At any rate, one can assume that despite the initial agreements, the Czech side could push us toward making border control far more stringent. All signs indicate that this will be a quick process, since the Czech Government is due to resolve the whole problem of the common Czech-Slovak border as early as 7 March. This means the Slovak side will have to respond quickly.

[Tuchyna] I would not put the question like that. We are a sovereign state and no one will push us and force us to do anything. It is we who will make a decision, and it is up to us to make a decision of our own choice. [end recording]

KDH Official: Government Has 'Totalitarian Tendencies'

AU0403173093 Prague CTK in English 1324 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava Mar 2 (CTK)—The current Slovak Government has totalitarian tendencies and fears independent thinkers, Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Deputy Chairman Ivan Simko told CTK today.

The Slovak Government proved this at its session yesterday, he said, by not allowing Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko to make his planned trip to Geneva and

Brussels, and by rejecting a proposal, made by the Trnava University Academic Senate, to name Anton Hajduk chancellor to the Slovak president.

This is a typical sign of how the current government executes its power, Simko said.

Ministry Report Reviews Foreign Investments

AU0403134293 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 2 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Foreign Capital in Slovakia"]

[Text] Foreign capital invested in enterprises in the Slovak Republic amounted to the equivalent of 6.6 billion korunas (\$231.2 million) on 31 December 1992. This is stated in a report of the Slovak Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property entitled "Foreign Capital in the Economy of the Slovak Republic."

Foreign capital from 54 countries is involved in investments in Slovak enterprises. Foreign capital participation is registered in 2,930 cases and concerns 2,825 organizations in the Slovak Republic. Foreign capital controls 800 enterprises and corporations. In 70.5 percent of the organizations, basic capital investment was under 100,000 korunas and in 2 percent of the organizations it exceeded the sum of 100 million korunas.

From the viewpoint of the branches of the Slovak economy in which foreign capital has been invested, the manufacturing industry ranks first, followed by retailing and repair services, the banking and insurance business, the real estate business, construction, extraction of raw materials, and transportation and communications.

Largest foreign investors in the Slovak Republic, ranked according to size (type of firm and country of origin are listed):

K-Mart Slovakia, joint stock company (United States)
Volkswagen, Ltd. (Germany)
Henkel-Palma, Ltd. (Austria)
Molnlycke, joint stock company (Sweden)
Samsung-Calex, Ltd. (Korea)
Lidova Banka [People's Bank], joint stock company (Austria)
Hoechst-Biotika, Ltd. (Germany)
Prvni Stavebni Sporitelna [First Building and Loan Association], joint stock company (Austria)
Naftoprojekt-CP, Ltd. (Canada)
Whirlpool-Tatramat, joint stock company (Italy)
MG Tatragas, Ltd. (Germany)

According to territorial distribution, the largest amount of foreign capital has been invested in Bratislava (66.5 percent), followed by Nitra District (7.7 percent), Poprad District (5.7 percent), and Humenne District (no percentage given).

Additional Funds Needed To Restructure Economy

LD0403194893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Up to 510 billion korunas will be required to restructure the Slovak economy before the year 2000. Of this, 200 billion will be required by industrial companies. This information was obtained by TA SR from the Economics Ministry and was cited by the report on the industrial policy, which was discussed by the government's economic council on 1 March. According to the agency, this data reveals that given present output, the Slovak economy is incapable of generating necessary funds.

Deputy Says Devaluation Causing Economic Damage

LD0403173193 Prague CTK in English 1633 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 4 (CTK)—The Slovak Government's attitude to the devaluation of the Slovak crown is causing direct economic losses, which will further increase due to the state administration's hesitation, Mikulas Dzurinda told a press conference today.

Dzurinda, who is a deputy to the Slovak parliament from the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), recalled the Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak's statement, published by the daily "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY" February 16, that a 10-15 per cent devaluation should be considered. Eight days later, the same paper quoted Finance Minister Julius Toth as saying that the Slovak cabinet was not considering any currency devaluation, since it would be an utter nonsense on Slovakia's part.

The KDH is concerned about the fact that the Slovak Government provides the citizens with no basic information on economic development to eliminate investors' doubts or to explain the methods applied by the cabinet, Dzurinda said.

The KDH recommends to both the government and state administration to disclose promptly comprehensive information on Slovakia's economic development as well as on currency development, and to set the basic priorities in the further process of economic transformation, Dzurinda said.

The KDH considers it appropriate to include the suggested line in an amended government programme declaration to be speedily submitted to the Slovak parliament, he added.

Ethnic Hungarian Movement Holds Congress in Komarno

AU0303170693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by "(da)": "Coexistence Is Opening Up"]

[Text] Komarno—Numerous foreign guests, including the ambassadors of Russia, the United States, Austria, and Hungary, attended the fourth congress of the Coexistence political movement. The congress was held in Komarno over the weekend [27-28 February]. The domestic political parties were represented by officials from the Party of the Democratic Left, Matica Slovenska [Slovak Cultural Foundation], and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray congratulated the SNS representatives on achieving the fundamental aim contained in their program—Slovak independence.

In his speech, Duray highlighted the increasing importance of local self-administration and the need for a more open approach by the movement toward the various problems facing society. He stressed that Hungarians want to live with Slovaks in one country as equal with equal without changing the borders. If, however, they do not find support among Slovak political circles for their ethnic requirements—especially for the right to education in their native language from kindergarten to high school—they will be forced to turn to international institutions. Slovakia needs another policy and another

government, stressed Duray. Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall addressed the congress by letter. He pointed out that the Hungarian ethnic minority is destined to become a bridge between the two states. Duray could not deny himself the opportunity of pointing out that the delegates would be pleased to listen to the text of a similar letter from Vladimir Meciar.

The discussion was reminiscent of a mosaic of often contradictory views. Sporadic, but vociferous, demands were made for Hungarian territorial autonomy in South Slovakia; however, opinions expressing the need to actively cooperate with Slovaks and sit down together and resolve mutual problems were voiced more often. The congress voiced its opposition to the establishment of Hungarian schools in which certain subjects would be taught in Slovak and its support for the establishment of a Hungarian university. It demanded that a Hungarian Roman Catholic bishopric be established and that a single political bloc of Hungarian parties and movements be created. From now on, Coexistence will orient itself more toward ethnic Ruthenian citizens. The delegates re-elected Miklos Duray chairman of the all-state council and Arpad Duka-Zolyomi deputy chairman.

**Hungarian Minister: Gabcikovo Project
'Nonsense'**

*LD0403143993 Prague CTK in English 1417 GMT 4
Mar 93*

[Text] Vienna March 4 (CTK)—Gabcikovo project is nonsense which can result in disaster, stated the new Hungarian Environmental Minister Janos Gyurko in Vienna in an interview with Austrian daily DIE PRESSE.

Gyurko said that risking an environmental, economic and political burden and, from the long-term perspective, possible catastrophe, just for a bit of electric energy, is foolish. Gyurko, who participated since 1990 in the talks with the former Czechoslovakia on the Danube hydroelectric project, is setting his hopes on International Court of Justice in The Hague. He is keeping in mind, however, that its decision will require about three years.

Hungary must take steps to limit the damage, Gyurko said. We must act immediately. The long-term consequences of the unilateral diversion of the Danube by Slovakia are immense, he said.

**Statement on Talks With Hungarians in Romania
Published**

*AU0403140593 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in
Hungarian 1 Mar 93 p 4*

["Text" of statement on talks between the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania and the Hungarian Government; place and date not given: "Hungary Wishes To Support the Hungarians in Romania"]

[Text] The following statement was published on the talks between the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] and the government:

"The government of the Hungarian Republic welcomes the fact that, based on the principle of internal self-determination, the RMDSZ was reorganized at the Brasov congress. The sides agree that they are striving to maintain closer relations than before, which are permanent and institutionalized.

They agree that the RMDSZ, as an organization committed to Romania, the Hungarian nation, and democracy, can play a beneficial role in promoting democratization in Romania, advancing interstate relations and reconciliation, and in serving the region's stability and European integration. The Hungarian Government does not interfere in the RMDSZ's policies, but supports as much as possible its legitimate efforts and its position in all issues. Accordingly, it welcomes and wishes to help the RMDSZ and Hungarians in Romania to establish their internal self-determination and autonomy plans in accordance with Romania's laws and international regulations.

Hungary wishes to efficiently support the political, economic, civic, cultural, ecclesiastical, and educational development and progress of the Hungarian society in Romania. The sides agreed to implement a detailed proposal package on these issues.

As Hungary and the Hungarians in Romania are equally interested in the democratization of Romania, they are prepared to jointly contribute to achieving this goal. The democratic settlement of the situation of the Hungarian national minority and other minorities in accordance with Romania's interests and laws and the European legal regulations is an organic part of this process. The sides will do everything in their power to achieve an early completion of the Hungarian-Romanian interstate agreement and an interstate agreement on the protection of national minorities. On the other hand, they advocate the urgent acceptance of the national minority law in Hungary and the nationality charter in Romania. The Hungarian prime minister and leaders of the RMDSZ agree that the cause of the Hungarian minority living beyond the borders must not be used for party political and elections goals. In this respect, they consider it necessary to place the policies relating to the Hungarians beyond the borders on a unified basis in consensus with a number of parties."

**Jeszzenszky Denies Territorial Dispute With
Romania**

*AU0403164293 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in
Romanian 22 Feb 93 p 3*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Simion Buia, Jr. in Budapest; date not given: "We Do Not Have Territorial Controversies With Romania"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky received me with the following words: "I am glad to receive a friend from Romania."

[Buia] Do you have many friends in Romania?

[Jeszzenszky] Yes, from the 1960's when I traveled in Romania by train and on foot. After my discussions with people, I reached the conclusion, as a historian, that a state of conflict between our peoples makes no sense. In this spirit, in June 1989 when prominent Romanian emigres attended the funerals of Imre Nagy [Hungarian prime minister during 1956 revolution], my party—which is the government party—signed a document in which we all spoke out against communist dictatorships, non-modification of borders, and the reestablishment of the rights of Hungarians in Romania. Many personalities from among the Romania emigres adhered to this declaration.

[Buia] Therefore, even before the revolution, steps were taken to establish a good understanding between Romanians and Hungarians. However, I believe that concrete chances to settle relations were offered by the revolution itself.

[Jeszenszky] What happened in Romania in December 1989 was a miracle! The revolution wiped out all the resentment generated in Hungary by the anti-Hungarian policy of the "Ceausescu era." The Romanian side had immediately changed its attitude. Our people became closer, and this act was propelled by the fact that they went through the revolution together with the common memory of demonstrations and the anticommunist struggle in which Romanians and Hungarians participated together.

[Buia] Unfortunately, the subsequent events contradicted the initial optimism.

[Jeszenszky] It is a tragic fact that the unique historical opportunity offered by the revolution for Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation was rapidly undermined by communists who turned into nationalists and extremists, and systematically misinformed the more credulous part of the population in Romania, affirming that Hungary is threatening the territorial integrity of Romania. The true motivation of the anti-Hungarian campaign is to divert people's attention from domestic difficulties.

[Buia] However, Romania has made constructive proposals to Hungary and a call for new negotiations has been launched.

[Jeszenszky] My answer is that Hungary is ready to make all efforts to improve relations. As early as May last year, I had the opportunity to hold a long discussion in this respect in Budapest with the current Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, whom I discovered to be an experienced and dynamic diplomat. Later, I read with pleasure the declarations made by Mr. Melescanu and other prominent personalities in Romania, declarations that express the hope and willingness to improve relations and settle through negotiations all the problems that are still open.

[Buia] What problems are you referring to?

[Jeszenszky] Before talking about them, I would like to note something: Realistically, Hungarian-Romanian relations are better than the image created in our countries and abroad. Several meetings have been held between our foreign, defense, and interior ministers, as well as between officials in the field of culture and economy and their discussions resulted in important bilateral understandings. However, at the same time, it disturbs us that the Romanian press—and I am not talking only about the ultranationalistic ones, but also certain newspapers that are close to the current government—publishes "sharp" and unfounded articles that intentionally hurt us and are deliberately aimed at creating an anti-Hungarian climate. We cannot believe that the Romanian Government is helpless toward such excesses!

[Buia] But there are also extremist excesses in Hungary!

[Jeszenszky] They are sporadic and immediately vehemently attacked. Both our government and press display

a sense of balance and proportion and the accidental extremist voices are not encouraged, but rather isolated. As a matter of fact, they are not believed or supported by our society.

[Buia] Nevertheless, I know from my own experience that the Hungarian public opinion is rather concerned about what is happening to our relations with Romania.

[Jeszenszky] Yes, indeed, however, the Hungarian public is not only interested in the person of the Harghita County prefect, the nationality of policemen in the areas inhabited by Szecklers, the trial of those who are guilty of the assassinations committed in December 1989, or whether Romania will or will not sign the Linguistic Charter of the Council of Europe. The Hungarian public is also interested in whether the operation of joint Romanian-Hungarian enterprises are being facilitated or obstructed, or whether new border crossings are being opened or not and is also interested in the extent of the Romanian custom officials' politeness and efficiency and in the evolution of our trade with Romania, which between the two world wars was among our major economic partners. Hungary would sanction with pleasure the positive development of our relations in a new interstate treaty. I repeat: There are no obstacles whatsoever on our part to reaffirm—in a reassuring, legal wording for both nations—that we do not have territorial controversies with Romania and we strictly respect the Helsinki Final Act and stipulate concrete guarantees for the perpetuation of the ethnic minorities who live in our countries and ensuring their safe future.

Trade With Visegrad Group Expected To Rise

AU0403140793 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 2 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 2 Mar (MTI)—Trade liberalisation in force from yesterday is expected to give Hungary 20 percent growth in business with Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, Acting State Secretary of International Economic Relations Lajos Berenyi told the press in Budapest today.

The trade agreement, signed in Cracow on December 21, 1992, has interim force until ratified by the four parliaments.

In 1992, Hungary's trade with Czechoslovakia amounted to USD 1.1 billion, equally shared between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The figure was twice as high as for the year before.

Trade with Poland sharply fell to USD 300 million last year.

The free trade agreement is expected to boost economic ties and foreign trade, Berenyi said.

Under the agreement, over half of Hungary's manufactured goods can be exported duty-free to the three Visegrad Group countries. In the second phase (1995-1997), almost all duties and quantitative restrictions on

manufactured goods will be abolished. For some specific products, including steel, textiles, clothes, and vehicles, duties will only be abolished by January 1, 2001.

As agreed in Cracow, the four countries are soon to launch talks on reducing the process from eight to five years. The state secretary, however, said that no agreement was likely this year.

With farm products, the sides are to grant one another duty concessions. Certain quotas, however, will remain in force.

Dismissed Military Official Views Intelligence

AU0403145293 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in
Hungarian 1 Mar 92 p 7

[Interview with Major General Janos Kovacs, recently dismissed head of the Military Intelligence Office of the Hungarian Army General Staff, by Gyorgy Baranyo; place and date not given: "It Would Be a Catastrophic Mistake To Misinterpret the Danger"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Baranyo] What is the mission of the Military Intelligence?

[Kovacs] This question is justified because just like the activity of other intelligence organs, the military intelligence activity has been surrounded by a wrong secrecy and deep mystery in Hungary in the past decades. A lot of things also changed substantially in our department after the change in the regime. Naturally, the justified rules of secrecy continue to be valid but, within rational possibilities, we find it desirable for the public to know about the task of military intelligence and the importance of its activity. We would like to make it clear that as long as there are opposing interests among states and wars are waged in some parts of the world, there is a need for military intelligence. For the national security and peace of the Hungarian Republic, the Military Intelligence Office is gathering and analyzing information about other countries' military efforts, armies, and armaments by using its special forces, means, and methods. In every critical military situation and on every military issue, the National Assembly, government, Defense Ministry, and General Staff of the Hungarian Army asked the professional opinion of the Intelligence Office. In their decisions, these bodies took into consideration our evaluations regarding the international military processes, foreign armed forces, and weapons. I must say that our military intelligence would make a terrible mistake if it exaggerated the real danger or if it saw danger in something that is not really a danger. It would also be a mistake to underestimate the information for some reason because, based on all this, the Intelligence Office could then give proposals to the state and military leadership that might create a disadvantageous situation from the viewpoint of avoiding the danger.

[Baranyo] Who works in the Intelligence Office and what do they do?

[Kovacs] Military intelligence is a special, complex, and multifaceted activity, just like the activity of other intelligence services. A characteristic difference is that most of our members are soldiers. Our military attaches accredited in foreign countries are among our members, but they cannot be listed among the people who gather their information by so-called intelligence methods. These attaches basically carry out tasks related to military diplomacy. The domestic staff also speaks several languages and is highly trained militarily. In the course of their work, they regularly analyze the news of various countries' new agencies and they also study foreign books on military policy, military science, and military technology. Those who are working with modern radio and telecommunication equipment in Hungary are active in an area of military intelligence that gathers very reliable information. In addition to these people, our Intelligence Office also has highly trained members who serve in the classic sense of intelligence gathering used by the military intelligence of almost every country in the world.

[Baranyo] Do you have official contacts with the military intelligence of other countries? What are the relations with the former Warsaw Pact countries?

[Kovacs] The Military Intelligence Office has broad international contacts. We have partnership relations with those interested in preserving security in Europe, and I also have (or had) personal contacts with the heads of several foreign intelligence services. I must stress that, in the current situation, these organizations do not relate to each other like some people sneaking behind each other, but we have a common interest in our work, namely to preserve peace and security. We have identical tasks in keeping our countries away from armed conflicts. Among the former Warsaw Pact countries, we have contacts with the intelligence heads of the neighboring countries. Occasionally, we exchanged opinions and experiences on topical military issues, and we hope this practice will continue. [passage omitted]

[Baranyo] Hungarian citizens are concerned about the Yugoslav crisis. Professionally, you are one of the most competent persons to answer the following question: Has there been, or is there now, any justification for the fear that foreign military forces might involve Hungary in a war?

[Kovacs] If you had asked me this one and a half years ago, I would have clearly told you that there were state and military leaders among the participants in the Yugoslav crisis who were probably interested in giving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia an international dimension. Namely, they could have involved a third country, like Hungary, into this war, hoping that they can keep the federation together by presenting the myth of a foreign enemy. Fortunately, I can now answer this question differently. The former tension has decreased considerably: Slovenia and Croatia gained their independence, and several countries have already recognized the independence of Macedonia, too. Since the war continues on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is a possibility that the fighting will spread again and move

closer to Hungary's southern border. Naturally, this situation requires increased attention from the Hungarian Republic and, specifically, from our military intelligence. In connection with the Yugoslav crisis, one should know about the current situation that the army of Small Yugoslavia is not identical with the Yugoslav Army before the war. The new army has become homogeneous in certain respects, and has basically become an army serving the Serbs' interests. Given the political and military changes in the area, the economic difficulties, the possibility of new crisis zones, and the international efforts aimed at halting the war, the danger of Small Yugoslavia initiating a war with any of its neighbors in 1993 is decreasing. However, I would add that, realistically evaluating the situation, such a possibility cannot be absolutely excluded either. Therefore, the Hungarian Republic is greatly interested in a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis as soon as possible. Although it is along our border, we must keep considerable distance from the armed conflict. Hungary's population should be aware that the domestic and international efforts provide adequate guarantees for peace in Hungary.

Albanian Foreign Minister Visits Budapest

AU0503110293 Budapest MTI in English 1505 GMT 1 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 1 Mar (MTI)—Tirana's main concern is that ethnic cleansing may affect Serbia's Kosovo

province, home to nearly two million ethnic Albanians, in turn risking all-out war in the Balkans, Albania's Foreign Minister said on Monday [8 March].

So Albania calls for UN peacekeepers in Kosovo, Alfred Serreqi told the press on the last day of his visit to Budapest.

Serreqi saw Serbian President Milosevic's policy as one of war psychosis. Serb leaders are responsible for the bloodshed and, if international resolutions could be implemented, they should be called to account as war criminals. Serreqi, however, added that Milosevic's regime has, in fact, acquired a certain legitimacy.

He said Albania pursues a foreign policy of openness and seeks wide-ranging cooperation to settle the conflict. Albania is open to Russia as well, who, Tirana thinks, can play a major role in resolving the crisis. It seems Moscow has been compelled to take a new approach to the South Slav crisis, although "nostalgic pan-Slavic reminiscences, may still be felt," Serreqi said.

Albania's chief foreign policy goal is integration into Europe and the country is looking for allies for that. Tirana expects a lot from closer ties with Hungary, Serreqi finished.

Sejm Considers Privatization Law, 'Schnappsgate'

LD0503050193 Warsaw PAP in English 2359 GMT
4 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—The draft law on the mass privatisation programme returned to the new session of the Sejm (lower house) on Thursday [4 March], following detailed work in the parliamentary commissions.

Earlier, in a piece of business uncompleted from Wednesday, the Sejm voted to reject the governments report on the circumstances and justifications for the creation of the controversial transborder "Carpathian" Euroregion, involving parts of Krosno province (south-east Poland), and several districts from Hungary, Slovakia, and the western Ukraine.

The mass privatisation programme was first presented to the Sejm in autumn 1992. Under the governments proposals, 500-600 state-owned enterprises will be transformed into joint-stock companies of the state treasury, and around 60 percent of their shares would be transferred to about 20 professionally-managed national investment funds.

All Polish citizens will be eligible to receive shares in these funds, probably in 1994, on payment of a registration fee which is likely to be set at no more than 10 percent of average monthly wages. It is planned that the funds will eventually be quoted on the Warsaw Stock Exchange.

The legislation has generated much political controversy, and a total of 27 minority amendments have been tabled, the most important being a proposal to limit eligibility to adult citizens alone. Other amendments would introduce the mass privatisation programme in two stages, with only 200 enterprises being included in the initial stage, and increase the number of shares to be allocated to cover compensatory payments to public-sector workers, and recipients of old-age and invalidity pensions.

The mass privatisation programme is broadly supported by the coalition parties, with the Democratic Union (UD), the Christian National Union (ZChN), Peasant Agreement (PL), and the Polish Liberal Programme (PPL) declaring their support. The conservative Polish Convention (KP) will also vote for the legislation, while the "Solidarity" parliamentary group has made its support dependent on the passage of several key amendments.

The left and right-wing opposition parties have declared that they will reject the bill.

The Sejm also began its discussion of a Sejm motion to call former Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz to account before the tribunal of state, to answer to his alleged responsibility in the so-called "Schnappsgate" scandal.

"Schnappsgate" refers to the massive import of alcohol into Poland in late-1989/early-1990, in contravention of

customs and tax regulations. Billions of zlotys are believed to have been lost in unpaid tax revenues as a result.

Balcerowicz, finance minister in the first noncommunist governments (September 1989-December 1991), is alleged by his critics in the opposition parties to have failed to act to block the loopholes which were exploited by the illegal importers.

In a dramatic intervention, former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, head of the government at the time, called for all proceedings against Balcerowicz to be dropped. There is "a frightening disproportion" between the need to scrutinise ministerial actions, and the call to bring Balcerowicz before the tribunal of state, he said.

Voting on the motion is expected on Friday.

At Thursday's session of the Senate (upper house), senators discussed proposals to update the Polish court system. The proposals met with a negative reaction from senators, particularly in relation to reforms in the legal structure, and the vetting of judges.

Adam Strzembosz, president of the Supreme Court, told the upper house that he opposed the creation of a permanent system for vetting judges. While he accepted the principle of investigating abuses of human rights by Poland's courts from before 1989, the creation of a permanent mechanism would impact badly on the administration of justice.

The Senate is scheduled to vote on this issue on Friday.

The upper house also discussed proposals for the reorganisation of the economic activities of local government bodies.

The current sessions of both houses of parliament continue on Friday.

Drzycimski on Possible U.S.-Russian Summit in Warsaw

LD0403223893 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network
in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Is it possible to organize the Yeltsin-Clinton summit in Warsaw? Monika Olejnik put this question to our guest, presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski.

[Begin recording] [Drzycimski] There was a mention of the summit, but that was on the principle that President Clinton was going to decide about it together with President Yeltsin.

[Olejnik] Yes, but President Lech Walesa made the proposal and it was accepted.

[Drzycimski] Every proposal in the situation as it is now was accepted with attention, and President Clinton said it would certainly be considered. I suppose that was not the only proposal.

[Olejnik] Will President Walesa talk to Russian President Boris Yeltsin?

[Drzycimski] It should be expected, but as we know there are serious problems in Russia and we could say that on our side there is permanent readiness. [end recording]

Drzycimski: National Guard 'To Serve the Reforms'

*AU0503110693 Warsaw PAP in English 2311 GMT
4 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—The creation of the National Guard results from the need to form mobile units which would act in various emergency situations including natural disasters and to fill the gap between the Police and the Army. Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said in an interview for Warsaw Radio 3 today.

He added that countries with democracies older than the Polish one have such units.

The spokesman reminded that the president explicitly stated that the Guard would be put under certain control and would not be treated as a presidential body alone, but also as one formed to serve the reforms. Drzycimski admitted that the Guard could be used against demonstrators violating public order.

According to Drzycimski, Poland's borders are easily penetrable due to lack of protection against threats from the east. He expressed an opinion that these are not political threats but ones that may be destructive for reforms.

Inspector Views Damage Left by Soviet Army

*LD0403193993 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network
in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] The main environmental protection inspector informed that ecological damage connected with the stay of the former Soviet Army in Poland would cost about 18 trillion zlotys. According to him, underground water supplies for Swinoujscie and, in the future, for Szczecin and Torun, are in danger. General Zdzislaw Ostrowski, government plenipotentiary during the Soviet Army's stay in the country, said that the Russian side owed us 116 billion zlotys without interest for the leased property. We have been paid only 2,000 dollars [31.4 million zlotys] since last year. Ostrowski thinks that there are no chances to recover this debt.

Onyszkiewicz Meets NATO Commander

*WS0503094093 Warsaw TVP Television Second
Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Mar 93*

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Minister of National Defense, met yesterday evening in Geneva with General John Shalikashvili, commander in chief of joint NATO Armed Forces in Europe.

[Begin recording Colonel Jerzy Ziolo, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, identified via screen caption]

This meeting, which was not announced earlier, was an opportunity to discuss matters related to Poland's integration with the European structures, particularly the structures of the North Atlantic alliance. This talk was exceptionally important because it was held before the meeting of the defense ministers of the European countries in Brussels, scheduled for the end of March. Minister Onyszkiewicz and General Shalikashvili did not want to divulge the details of the talk. I can say, however, that both of them are very satisfied with this meeting. If we relate this fact with the favorable development of military relations of Poland with NATO states, especially with France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany, it becomes clear that another significant step was taken toward our integration with the European defense system. [end recording]

Ambassador Denies Report of Claims Against Lithuania

*LD0403221893 Warsaw PAP in English 2129 GMT
4 Mar 93*

[Text] Vilnius, March 4—The Polish ambassador to Lithuania on Thursday [4 March] categorically denied allegations made by Lithuanian Deputy Romualdas Ozolas who accused Poland of alleged territorial claims towards Lithuania.

Ambassador Jan Widacki declared that Poland has no territorial claims towards any country whatsoever. He recalled that the inviolability of frontiers is one of Poland's supreme principles. Poland is also a signatory to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that confirms the existing borders.

Widacki referred also to the 1992 Polish-Lithuanian declaration which stresses that Poland has no claims towards Lithuania.

Widacki asserted further that Poland does not support demands for territorial autonomy as Ozolas claims, but added that "questioning the rights of Poles, mostly Lithuanian citizens, to cultural autonomy is something that must surprise in Europe."

Protestors March Outside Prospective Walesa Residence

*LD0503041293 Warsaw PAP in English 0021 GMT
5 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—About 20 demonstrators who gathered on Thursday [4 March] in front of the "Namiestnikowski" Palace, being renovated and converted into the prospective residence of President Lech Walesa, flashed placards reading "The President Can Feed Himself, the People Cannot," "We Want More Nurseries Not Palaces," and "We Cannot Afford Antics of the People in Power."

The first slogan is a paraphrase of a statement used by communist government spokesman Jerzy Urban years ago when he was persuading striking workers to resume work because "the government can feed itself" and if they produce nothing, they will have (or eat) nothing.

The demonstration was organized by the free trade unions and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS).

Vacaroiu Presents Economic Program to Parliament
*AU0403174093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1200
GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1993—Noting that the efficiency of the policies of macroeconomic stabilization applied so far has been diluted because of the financial indiscipline, the government will see to the elimination of the causes that generate it, especially of the payment arrears, reads the government program presented by Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu to the two chambers of the Parliament in joint sitting on March 4. For this, we propose the renunciation of global or selective compensations, the transformation of the arrears into negotiable credit titles and even into credit titles convertible into stock or shares of the companies, the revamping or closing down of enterprises that cannot pay and thus generate chain blockage, the extension of the credit market (including through the elimination of the non-performing credits from the portfolios of the commercial banks) and the introduction of modern instruments of credit: the letter of exchange, bill to order.

Considering that the mounting competition and its protection make a decisive contribution to increasing real production and to price stability in the Romanian economy, the government pursues the consolidation of the measures of combating unfair competition, the protection of free competition, the repression of the restrictive commercial practices, the control of economic concentration.

For this, a number of bills are to become operative by the end of 1993, regarding the establishment, administration and exploitation of the state monopolies, as well as a package of norms regarding the economic agents' equal access to the market.

Likewise, for diminishing the prevalence of the state sector in the economy, the government will immediately trigger the restructuring of the public corporations, that will consist of: establishing the criteria of maintaining certain activities in form of public corporations, the separation of the activities that can be organized in commercial companies (and encompassed in the process of privatization), the banning of other activities in the public corporations than those established on their setting up, the conclusion of contracts with the executive management, the rigorous settlement of the relations with the state budget and with the budgets of the local authorities.

Stressing that the essential purpose of privatization of the commercial companies with state capital is the emergence of more dynamic economic units with a bigger adaptability to the internal and external competition, the program of the Romanian Government opts for maintaining a high rate of privatization, proposing specific solutions, among which: the sale of stock to every company's employees and managers, the opening of possible institutional investors' access to the stock market, the temporary association of the state capital

with the private capital, by encouraging the private investors through majority participation, the attraction of foreign capital.

In sustaining these measures, the government is convinced that in the next two years about 20 percent of the commercial companies' stock should be possessed by citizens.

For the creation and consolidation of a market of capital, a stock exchange is to be opened in 1994.

The Romanian Government's strategic program shows that the government will promote privatization strategies differing contingent upon the size of the company's capital, the potential profitability and the needed investment volume. The priorities of the privatization programs by sectors will be oriented to agriculture and food industry. Special heed will be paid to the government's action for the demonopolization of the activities associated with the purchase, storage and sale of the farm produce, for the priority privatization of the companies that supply services to agriculture and for the revamping of the food industry sector.

The government assesses that tourism may actually be privatized by 1995, that the privatization of trade will be completed in the next two years. In road transport, the process of privatization is expected to be completed by 1995, through the sale of stock to the association of employees and managers. As regards air and naval transport, the state will maintain for the time being its majority participation, considering the necessity of association of powerful companies in the respective domains.

The government program sustains that the privatization of the industrial companies requires the handling in a first stage of the medium and small companies that do not require a revamping first (35 sub-branches, including timber working, furniture, paper, glass, fine ceramics, textile industry, plastics, etc.), mentioning that about 500 companies are ready for privatization right in 1993. For the companies that require a revamping first, the government pursues the attraction in the restructuring effort both of strategic investors (machine-building, electronics, electrical engineering) and the participation of foreign investors in exchange for stock the size of which will be negotiable (metallurgy, petrochemistry).

Noting that the development of the small and medium enterprises has been checked so far by the adverse reaction of the structures of public administration and of the various groups of interests of the economic-industrial complex, Romania's Government plans to give assistance by (direct and indirect) financing, by setting up the fund of credit guarantees for private enterprises, to eliminate the discriminations between the public and private sectors, placing them in equal conditions of competition, to align the incentives given to Romanian enterprises with those offered to foreign

investors. The enterprises that propose well substantiated development projects will be able to benefit from assistance in form of nonrepayable financing or loan guarantees, and, on a local plane, from facilities in getting production prices at low prices or rents.

The government's legislative and institutional initiatives pursue the promotion of the master law for the private enterprises' activity, the loan law for the small and medium enterprises, the leasing companies' law, the administration of a specific information system, with the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] assistance included, the development of a national network of consulting and training or brush-up centres.

The government, by coordinating its actions with those of the national bank, will see to the fast improvement of the functioning of the financial-banking system to the end of channeling the economy's limited financial resources to profitable institutions.

To enlarge the financial market, the government plans the restructuring of the savings bank (the CEC), by diversifying its activities and ensuring an actually positive level of interest rates applied according to the foreseen level of inflation, the use of the insurance companies' availabilities, the settlement of the issues of securities at the level of companies, the actuation of the presence in the market of the mutual funds and of the private pension funds.

Following the constant decline of the agricultural production in the 1990-1992 period and taking into consideration and major changes that have occurred in this sector, the government proposes that all measures for restructuring agriculture and for ensuring food supply security should have an urgent character.

The government will study a legislative initiative to enable a legalization of the property certificates for those already under possession and give them the opportunity to conclude patrimony papers. Moreover, the land market will be stimulated and a concentration of the current medium-sized properties under exploitation will be encouraged; the present state-owned commercial companies will be restructured and updated through a contract of management and of state orders for products of bare necessity; privatisation of state-owned commercial companies in the food industry, agricultural mechanisation and so forth.

Other strategic options of the programme of governing are: an elimination of the monopoly structures within the system of purchase, distribution and processing of farmfood produce; liberalisation of prices for farmfood produce and a stimulative system of purchase prices; price subsidies for main products and access to credits facilities; government-financed activities of general interest through allowances and investments coming

from the state budget (a rethinking of the land melioration system, carrying out of sanitary activities, etc.) simultaneously with a decentralisation of the national system of irrigations.

As for the investments, the objectives in the programme of governing are related to an encouragement of economic agents to operate on their own investment funds, attraction of foreign investments; an orientation of investments towards objectives consistent with the process of European integration (modernisation of power infrastructure; the country's integration within the European transport system; development of the telecommunications system; environment protection of extremely valuable natural zones and of areas stricken by pollution and degrading; complex development of hydrographical basins; completion of land improvement works).

For the 1993-1996 period the public investments programme envisages their concentration in the infrastructure and the social sectors, the main projects of the government being a partial consolidation of 25,000 buildings affected during earthquakes, a mobilisation of financial resources for completing works started before 1990, on 64,000 flats the carrying out of strictly necessary town developments, especially of those on drinking water supply systems and others.

The government policy regarding scientific research and technological development envisages an encouragement of fundamental and university research, a restructuring of technological researches on grounds of competitiveness, an involvement of the research and development institutes in the process of technology improvement and updating of production.

The government programme appreciates that the measures for economic restructuring and stability will be mirrored by the economic branches structural changes and in the contribution brought by each sector to the gross domestic product.

In case of an optimistic variant, starting this year, a stop would be registered to the drop of the gross domestic program and its further increase of 1.3 percent, followed by a gradual one of 3.9 percent in 1996, that is, an increase of 12.2 percent as to 1992.

In case of a pessimistic variant, the gross domestic product would decrease with 5-7 percent this year, followed by more important positive rates.

Referring to the foreign economic relations of Romania, the governing programme presented on 4 March by Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu before the two chambers of Parliament point out that the objectives envisaged by the Romanian executive call for a harmonization of restrictions regarding economic structural adjustment vis-a-vis commitments made by Romania in international economic relations.

In the field of customs policies, all customs exemptions and tax cuts will be eliminated, and a uniformization of taxes and the setting of a much lower level of nontariff restrictions are envisaged.

The national centre of foreign trade will be set under the Ministry of Trade with the role to optimise the assistance granted to economic agents, and the mechanisms used by Eximbank for exports crediting and credit guarantees will be strengthened according to international standards. Restrictions to export will also be eliminated (with the exception of products short on the domestic market).

Stressing that the annual need for foreign investments regarding assistance for restructuring and development envisaged by the government's reform programme is evaluated to almost \$1.5 billion, while the current potential of investment attraction does not exceed \$200 billion annually and taking into consideration the extremely fierce international competition for the attraction of foreign investments, the programme of governing outlines as a top priority a countering of the factors that discourage investments. The government appreciates that a true economic potential can be efficiently capitalized through the promotion of foreign investments in priority sectors like the farmfood industry and its complementary industrial products, in the field of power, consumer goods, transports, telecommunications, building-materials, tourism, and so forth.

Due to a concentration in the following three or four years of the programme of foreign economic assistance for the encouragement of financial instruments and of investments meant for economic development, a small number of projects will be selected for a major impact on the economy.

The programme presented before Parliament by Premier Vacaroiu points out that the strategy of foreign debt is to direct credits to investments projects and for the consolidation of hard currency resources, in the conditions of activating the foreign balance of payments. The creation of proper hard currency resources (of almost \$500,000 at the end of 1993) is a main prerequisite for Romania's returning on international financial markets.

In 1993, the state-contracted and guaranteed payment obligations will reach \$340,000. The government will watch over the use of foreign credits, especially for financing investments which can stimulate economic development and exports on a long term.

A reorientation of foreign credits from consumption towards investments involves an orientation towards specialized financing sources like IBRD, EBI [European Bank of Investments], EBRD as well as towards state bodies for export credit guarantees.

The government submits for approval to Parliament the law on the authorisation of credit ceilings and foreign financial credits' guarantees for 1993, up to \$3.8 billion.

The entering into force up to the second semester of 1993 of the provisions regarding commercial cooperation under the European agreement of Romania's association to the European Community and the free-trade agreement with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] member-states brings in the focus their preparation for an effective ratification and application. A harmonisation of the legislative framework with that of their partners in the EEC and EFTA is also envisaged.

The capitalisation of these agreements will be carried out on a medium and long term, within a balanced economic policy, regarding the gradual assimilation of economic, financial-monetary and social indices in the European Community as well as the development of Romania's international economic relations. On a multilateral plane, a renegotiation of the protocol of adherence to the GATT [General Agreement on Tariff and Trade] and a successful finalisation of the GATT-Uruguay round of trade multilateral negotiations is envisaged.

Romania's Government considers that the social protection policy is a fundamental component of its program, both as regards the securing of a minimum of necessary resources and as regards the facilitation of the national economy's structural adjustment.

Showing that the processes of restructuring in Romania's economy, matched by the economic crisis, have led to labour redundancies, so that, at the end of 1992 the number of registered unemployed reached some 8.4 percent of the active population, and, in conditions of the current economic evolution, unemployment may reach a rate of 9-12 percent in 1993, Romania's Government opts for the promotion of a steady policy of increasing the degree of occupation of the active population and of curbing unemployment, paying special attention to combating unemployment with youth and women, to the highly skilled labour as well as to limiting long unemployment.

For the attainment of these targets, the government pursues the relaunching of public investments at a national and local level, as well as of the private ones, with autochthonous and foreign capital, the development of private property, assistance to the development of the small and medium enterprises, the promotion of a fiscal and credit policy stimulating the economic agents that create new jobs, encouragement of the jobless to start profit-making activities.

Noting that after 1990 the incomes and consumption have been declining for most of Romania's population, because of the declining production and labour productivity, of growing economic crisis, inflation and unemployment, Romania's executive sets itself, among other things,

—To settle the cent percent meeting [as received] of the influence of consumer price rise on the population's purchasing power as a result of the elimination of subsidies with certain basic products and services as of May 1, 1993;

- To reconsider the relations among various categories of incomes (salaries, pensions) and combat the levelling up phenomena;
- To secure a real salary level contingent upon labour productivity;
- To further establish the minimum basic pretax salary at a national level, in view of protecting low incomes;
- To encourage all economic agents to invest in actions to improve labour conditions;
- To achieve a reform of the social insurance security system, so as to offer better protection against social risks;
- To endorse a flexible pension system.

The government's view is that the main way towards the change of social structures is the modification of ownership relations, a process started as early as 1990 by restoring peasants to their land possession rights and by initiating the privatisation law, writes the government's programme, presented by Premier Vacaroiu before the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament in their 4 March joint sitting.

The government's main targets towards the instatement and development of the new property relations are:

- a) The development of private individual property by turning state-owned units private, by attracting personal savings to capital circuits and of personal incomes to investment in securities, by stimulating the employees to purchase shares of their enterprises and encouraging them to take part in its management.
- b) The drafting of a new statute of public property and of the laws and institutions protecting it as: public property of local corporate bodies; state property (under national administration by government institutions) and as state-guaranteed public property.
- c) The instatement and stimulation of forms of corporate property, starting with producers associations and going to consumer-owned production units.

The government programme also makes provision for an administrative reform, whose basic principles are set on the change of relationships between the central or local administration and the community, on the separation of the state from the civil society, on promoting individual, corporate and local initiatives and responsibilities, on the separation of powers in the state and the observance of laws and of the rule of law.

The central administration reform will shift the weight of the government's activities and of its central institutions from the management of the economic and social life towards outlining development strategies, defence of national interests, issuance of standards and monitoring compliance with them.

The organizational pattern of the present Ministry of the Interior will be centred on the basic features of a state body charged with the coordination of local administration, keeping of public order and population records and with the technicalities of electoral campaigns. The post of secretary general will be instituted in every ministry and well-defined relations will be established between public institutions subordinated to the government and the self-administrated public structures such as the national bank, the state property fund, the chamber of commerce and industry and others.

For the reform of local administration, the government intends to entrust local administration bodies with investment and financing of general compulsory education, with prerogatives for improving the health of its constituents, with the coordination and financing by local corporations and councils of order-keeping police units, traffic agents and fire brigades.

The reform of the judiciary pursues to give judicial power social equilibrium, as a guarantor of stability of the institutions of the state of law, of the observance and protection of the citizens's rights and lawful interests. The attorney general's institution will discharge discretionary powers through an institution integrated into the state of law as the public ministry.

For the improvement of legislation, the government will give precedence to the drafting of fundamental laws and codes, such as the civil code, the criminal code, the civil procedure code, the commercial code, the family code, the labour code as well as to the updating of the legislation governing Romania's participation in international conventions and fora. The government will proceed to a more minute monitoring of human rights and fundamental liberties observance in keeping with international standards.

The social chapter of the programme shows that the alarmingly growing social discontent with the sharpening economic crisis requires not only economic measures. It requires adequate social policies (education, health, culture, sport).

Education is to make the object of a complex, coherent and flexible system, both public and private, with vocational education to be sponsored by related economic establishments, public and private high schools and universities coexisting and the state running its own network of comprehensive high schools.

For the youth, the government proposes to draft a law of the youth covering aspects of prime interest for this segment.

The health system reform will be focused on stopping the deterioration of health care services, on improving the structure of the public health system.

The government program of Romania's executive, presented to the two chambers of the Parliament in the March 4 sitting by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu,

shows that the government will ensure the taking of the steps needed for maintaining the country's best defence capacity, concomitant with the continuation of the process of updating the armed forces in point of structure, equipment and instruction. These targets will be included in the outlook of national security articulated by the Supreme Defence Council of the country, that is to be submitted to the Parliament for approval in October 1993.

Also, the relations with the Armed Forces of other states will be consolidated, especially with those of the neighbour states, of the Western states in the North Atlantic Treaty membership as well as with the political-military bodies of the NATO and WEU (West European Union).

The same document presented to the Parliament by the Romanian premier includes the major objectives of foreign policy promoted by the government:

a) Continuation of the efforts for integration in the West European and Euro-Atlantic structures, pursuing:

—The consolidation of the links with the NATO and WEU, up to the country's full integration in those bodies, in support of its security and territorial integrity,

—The expansion of the relations with the European Community (that have now entered a new stage following the signing of the association agreement) and the deepening of Romania's collaboration with the European Free Trade Association,

—Romania's admission as full member to the Council of Europe and the signing of the European Convention on Human Rights and of other multilateral documents elaborated under the Council's aegis regarding the observance of human rights and national minorities' rights,

—The active participation in the process of CSCE institutionalization,

—The consolidation of Romania's position as factor of stability in the region, in the context of the evolutions in the region.

b) In the domain of bilateral relations the government will coordinate its strategy for:

—Privileged relations with the United States, Germany and Great Britain, with France and the other Latin European states as well as with other Western states,

—Normal relations with all neighbour and close countries, development of relations with the newly independent states in the region and the full normalization of the relations with Hungary, based on the European standards of good neighbourly relations,

—Boosting the relations with China as well as with Japan and with other economically advanced countries in other continents (Israel, South Africa, South Korea),

—Capitalizing on the traditionally fine relations with the states in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Australia.

c) Participation in subregional collaboration.

d) Active stands in the European and world structures on matters of observance of human rights and national minorities' rights, rejection of any xenophobic, antisemitic and racist approaches,

e) Promotion of a policy of close links with the international financial organizations, especially with the IMF, the World Bank and the EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development).

f) Cultivation of special relations with the Republic of Moldova, to the end of deepening the economic integration and consolidating the common cultural and spiritual space, essential requisites for the accomplishment of all Romanians' natural aspirations.

g) Consolidation of the links with all Romanians living outside the country's frontiers,

h) Attraction of the Romanian diaspora's energies in support of the reform and democratization of the Romanian society.

i) Assertion of the Romanian spirituality in the world, through the articulation and application of a comprehensive program of presentation of the national values.

Officials Deny Russian-Serb Meeting in Timisoara

AU0503100593 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
2 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Alexandra Andon: "Bucharest Does Not Know Anything"]

[Text]

The Defense Minister's Remarks

We contacted the minister of national defense, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, at the Timpuri Noi site, where exercises were being held for defense in case of disaster. He was there with several generals and officers. When we told the minister the subject that we wished to discuss, he said:

"Nothing is true. We firmly deny these rumors."

We asked Minister Spiroiu whether he has any knowledge about the visit of a group of Russian generals sometime in January, as the London weekly THE OBSERVER affirms. He said firmly that he has no knowledge of such a visit. Likewise, he said that he has no knowledge of the presence of any "Serb leaders" in Romania at that time. The London publication affirms that the respective meeting had taken place in a hut near Timisoara. We asked the defense minister whether perhaps the Army has such a hut in that area and made it available to some Russian or Serb delegation. "We do not have any hut in the Timisoara area, thus in no way

could we make such a thing available to anybody" General Spiroiu answered. In the end he wished to disprove once again the entire statement made in the London weekly.

The SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] Director's Answer

Yesterday, 1 March, I turned with the same subject to Mr. Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Information Service.

"From the information received to date, the answer in connection with the possibility of such a meeting is rather negative. Certainly, we must check carefully all available information, and tomorrow [2 March] we will be able to give you a firm answer. However, apart from the fact that we know nothing of such a meeting, I can tell you that in my view there are no reasons for such a meeting to be organized in our country. Likewise, the organization of such a meeting would be at variance with the position expressed and firmly adopted by Romania in no way to encourage the fueling of the conflict in Yugoslavia" Mr. Magureanu told us. He also promised that today, after he examines all the information received by the SRI, he will give us a definite answer.

The Foreign Ministry's Opinion

Yesterday, 1 March, we also turned to Mr. Ion Gorita, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the head of the Europe-North America Department, and asked him whether he had any information in connection with the alleged meeting and accord between the Russian generals and Serb leaders. Mr. Ion Gorita said that he has no data or information whatsoever about such a meeting, noting that had such a meeting taken place, it should have been known by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the SRI.

Daily Condemns Hungary's Policy Toward Transylvania

[Quotation marks as received]

AU0403164193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1537 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/3/1993—"Romania has but two alternatives, either to accept the autonomy and

self-determination of its Magyar population, or to risk interethnic conflicts, like those in Bosnia and Hercegovina," the Hungarian foreign minister, Geza Jeszenszky, told leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, UDMR, a few days ago in Budapest, according to the daily LIBERTATEA, that does not specify its source. The said daily relates this statement to a decision of a meeting held on February 14, at Debrecen, on the "Carpathian Euroregion." LIBERTATEA says that the Hungarian foreign minister proposed at his interview with UDMR leaders that joint economic zones and regions be created, after the model of the "Valev Plan," launched in the early sixties by a Moscow university professor, rejected by Romania at the time and never applied in the end. LIBERTATEA says that ever since Hungary has imagined all sorts of superstatel formations of regional economic cooperation, designed to make the areas inhabited by Magyars in Hungary's neighbour countries no longer responsible to these states' central governments, to enable Hungary to use these countries' raw materials, make borders permissible and finally abandon them."

LIBERTATEA writes that Geza Jeszenszky had said that Hungary is intend on making a complementary space out of Transylvania, the ultimate geopolitical purpose being the union of the Magyars within the boundaries before the Trianon Treaty of 1920, which decided on Transylvania's union with Romania. Geza Jeszenszky had said that the Carpathian Euroregion would be only a beginning, the final aim being the recreation of greater Hungary, through economic measures primarily." He would have added that "the two parties had to put their forces together to resolve the problem of the Magyars in Romania, that a decision was taken at Debrecen to ignore central Romanian authorities in the process and only contact local decisionmakers of the counties of Satu Mare and Maramures (northwestern Romania).

LIBERTATEA cites Geza Jeszenszky as having said that the secretary-general of the Council of Europe, Catherine Lalumiere, brought a great service to this political strategy, by "having warned the leaders in Bucharest that Romania's integration in Europe will be preceded by a similar process at the level of zones of Europe."

Zepa Residents Retrieve Airdropped Packages

AU0503095793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] According to the latest reports that arrived from Zepa half an hour ago, six packages containing humanitarian aid and medication that the U.S. transport aircraft had dropped by parachutes have been found.

The U.S. aircraft dropped 24 packages above this area. Bearing in mind their favorable location, the population of this town will probably retrieve all the remaining parachuted packages with food in the next few hours.

'Appalling Manhunt' by Serbs in Cerska Reported

AU0403200193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Report by Salih Brkic from Tuzla]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to the statement by the Second Corps Press Service in Tuzla, the tragedy of the suffering people of Cerska has continued with a massacre of nearly 700 civilians who were trying to reach Kladanj. In an appalling manhunt, the chetnik formations murdered these wretched people mercilessly which, according to the information from Konjevic Polje, has been confirmed by a small group of those who survived and managed to make their way back to Konjevic Polje. The Second Corps in Tuzla says that all this happened in the region of Rogosija, Debelo Brdo, and Susica, and the latest information that has reached Tuzla says that ruthless shelling has been going on all day. And while the world still only issues warnings, however strong, these criminals continue the killing with shells—as the figures of 11 dead and 23 wounded show—launching infantry attacks, and using loudspeakers to call upon people hiding in the mountains to surrender. In return, the criminals are offering them safe passage to Serbia. Those are the messages of the chetnik warlords, while their leaders are pursuing their monstrous plan—the ethnic cleansing of at least 30 kilometers of the territory from the banks of the Drina River.

Mladic Allows UN To Help Cerska Civilians

AU0403163393 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT
4 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 4 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs agreed Thursday [4 March] to allow U.N. humanitarian workers into the embattled Moslem town of Cerska in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, a U.N. spokesman said.

The Serb military leader [Lieutenant General] Ratko Mladic gave his permission to General Philippe Morillon, commander of the U.N. Protection Force in Yugoslavia. The United Nations on Thursday proposed a 24-hour truce to try to help residents in Cerska and evacuate the wounded.

Morillon Leaves for Cerska

AU0503100493 Paris AFP in English 1003 GMT
5 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 5 (AFP)—The U.N. commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Philippe Morillon, headed to the besieged Moslem enclave of Cerska in eastern Bosnia Friday [5 March], his spokesman here said.

The Bosnian Serb forces surrounding Cerska were notified of Morillon's plan but offered no guarantees for his security, spokesman Barry Frewer said.

Morillon, head of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) here, flew off from Sarajevo on board a helicopter. He will stop at Tuzla, a Moslem-controlled town north-east of the Bosnian capital, before heading on to Cerska, the spokesmen said.

Konjevic Polje Reportedly Shelled by Serbs

AU0403163793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Report from the Konjevic Polje Press Center]

[Text] The shelling of Konjevic Polje and the front line continues. The 205-mm howitzers from Ilijino Brdo, Milica Brdo, and (?Lijecnje) are in full swing. The people are in panic, running from one ruin to another, exposing themselves to even greater danger. We have information that last night and up to 0900 this morning, 11 civilians were killed in the shelling—most of them women—and 23 were wounded—12 of them children. There is no more room for the care of the wounded; the facilities are overcrowded as it is. Just now, at 1345, we can hear calls over loudspeakers, from (?Lijecnje) telling us to surrender, and only then will they allow the wounded to be transported to Belgrade.

Serb Forces Propose Evacuation

AU0403201593 Paris AFP in English 2010 GMT
4 Mar 93

[Text] Drinjaca, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 4 (AFP)—Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina Thursday [4 March] proposed to evacuate residents of a Moslem enclave through Serbian-controlled territory to the industrial town of Tuzla.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has proposed to carry out the evacuations of Konjevic Polje residents wishing to leave before possible fighting breaks out, but Serbian military leaders were close to rejecting the offer.

"We want to show that Serbs can be more humane than those humanitarian groups. Where was the UNHCR when Serbs were massacred?" the commander of the Serbian Army corps at Zvornik, Major Vinko Pandurevic, told AFP, referring to a recently discovered grave with 30 bodies at Kamenica, 20 kilometers (12

miles) southwest of Zvornik. The UNHCR could accompany the convoy between Zvornik and Tuzla, he added.

But a UNHCR aide in Belgrade, Rick Garlock, rejected the offer, telling AFP that the UNHCR wants to make sure that "human rights will be respected from beginning to end and that departures are voluntary." Garlock was to meet with Serbian military leaders at Sekovici, 45 kilometers (30 miles) southwest of Zvornik. "There is a risk that we will be accused of taking part in ethnic cleansing but there also is a risk that we will be accused of standing there with our arms folded while people are dying in the snow," Garlock said.

Pandurevic was in Drinjaca, a Serbian stronghold near Konjevic Polje, Thursday to seek a meeting with Moslem leaders of the village. He said the Serbs' evacuation offer had been met by a "flood of abuse." "All people leaving without arms, even men, will be evacuated. They will be transported by bus because they will never make the 30 kilometers (20 miles) on foot, with all that snow," Pandurevic said.

Troops at Zvornik broadcast a call to the people at Konjevic Polje by radio early Thursday, guaranteeing safe passage from the territory which they said was threatened by military operations. Ham radios monitored in Tuzla but unconfirmed by independent sources said the Moslem enclave had been heavily shelled for the past days. All was quiet at Drinjaca Thursday afternoon but a resident said she had heard heavy fighting for three days until early Thursday. Serbian forces at Zvornik said they told Konjevic Polje residents they could be evacuated by bus to Memici, the last Serbian checkpoint before Bosnian government-controlled Tuzla, via Drinjaca and Zvornik. The evacuation bid comes as Serbs are fighting to cleanse the last Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia along the Drina River which borders on Serbia proper.

"The Drina valley is of vital importance to the Serbs," Pandurevic said. "International negotiators must understand that they must respect things as they are and that Zvornik and its region are now Serbian."

Under the peace plan proposed by E.C. and U.N. negotiators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance and submitted to the United Nations in New York the region was to be part of a Moslem canton around Tuzla. The enclave however is of strategic importance and its capture by Serbs would threaten government-controlled Srebrenica.

Serbian correspondents of Zvornik radio have stressed that the fall of Konjevic Polje would open the road south to Vlasenica and allow one of Zvornik's biggest companies to be supplied with bauxite from mines at Milici without costly detours.

Serb Members of Presidency Ask Morillon To Stop Serbs

AU0403210993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] The aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina is ruthlessly and rapidly continuing its ethnic cleansing and other forms of mistreatment of the population in the regions he controls. This is contained in today's address by Tatjana Ljubic-Mijatovic and Mirko Pejanovic, members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to General Morillon, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are addressing you on this occasion as members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency from the ranks of the Serbian people. In Banja Luka alone, there is danger of 40,000 Muslims and 20,000 Croats being expelled. Dramatic information is coming from the north of Bosnia, from Bijeljina, Janja, Brcko, and Teslic. In the region of Cerska, 20,000 men, women, and children are in a very serious situation, as they are completely surrounded and without protection.

Mr. Morillon, does it seem unreal to you, as it does to us, that in the 20th century in the heart of Europe people have to flee their homes and die of hunger and cold, just because they are members of a particular nation? Who and in whose name can shift tens of thousands of people from territory to territory, and for the sake of what monstrous aims? Are they not inflicting the worst damage and shame to their own people, the Serbs, in whose name these crimes are being committed?

On the behalf of all the nations and patriotic citizens who support the sovereign democratic and decentralized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in their name, Tatjana Ljubic-Mijatovic and Mirko Pejanovic plead with the UNPROFOR commander to do all in his power to protect the civilian population in these regions, and help bring peace to the country as soon as possible.

Srebrenica Press Center Calls for Aid

AU0403200593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Report from the Srebrenica Armed Forces Press Center]

[Text] Supported by heavy fire from four mortar installations and two tanks positioned in Serbia, the aggressor launched an infantry attack this morning in the direction of (?Zlogova)-(?Obrazi)-(?Urkovici) from their positions in Zelinja and (?Poloma). Despite the fierce fighting that has been under way throughout the day, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces of Srebrenica are holding their lines firmly and are successfully repelling the far superior aggressor forces. The aggressor has suffered great losses in manpower, and very heavy fighting continues at the moment. The people of Srebrenica are surprised that none of the containers with humanitarian aid have so far been directed at them. Our people are dying as the world sits, silent to our appeals. We have

information that UN Protection Force and Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees officials do not believe any of our reports. We want them to come to Srebrenica and see for themselves. Or perhaps they need the approval of the chetniks even for that? In protest, as of today we will stop reporting numbers of victims of hunger, disease, and cold, but history will show how right we were. That will be too late for many Srebrenica people.

UN Aid Convoy Bound for Sarajevo

LD0403133993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Zvornik, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—Following three days of complications caused by a refusal of the aid commander to allow inspection of its load, a convoy of 40 UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] trucks, escorted by 101 peacekeepers, crossed from Mali Zvornik to the left bank of the Drina River today [into Bosnian territory]. The convoy is now on its way to Sarajevo, its final destination. [passage omitted]

Inspection was today carried out at Karakaja on the left bank of the Drina, following a direct intervention of an UNPROFOR Command officer. The convoy is now travelling through the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] toward its destination. [passage omitted]

French Aid Worker Shot by Sniper

AU0503091693 Paris AFP in English 0059 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, March 5 (AFP)—Frenchwoman Chantal Godinot was shot dead by a sniper near Sarajevo airport Thursday [4 March], a spokesman for the U.N. peacekeeping force [UNPROFOR] here said. Godinot, 50, from the central French city of Lyons, was on her second trip to war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina with the humanitarian organisation Equilibre, when she was shot in the head. She was riding in an Equilibre convoy when a sniper opened fire as her vehicle approached a U.N. checkpoint at the airport, said Major Barry Frewer.

Two Poles were also wounded in the incident, one in the arm, the other in the shoulder, the major said.

UNPROFOR troops fired a smoke grenade to mask the scene and immediately evacuated the woman and the wounded men to their headquarters at the airport, he added.

Alain Michel, president of the Lyons-based organisation, said the killings happened as the sixth Equilibre aid convoy prepared to leave Sarajevo after delivering 300 tonnes of food and medicines to the besieged capital. 80 tonnes of newsprint for the OSLOBODENJE (LIBERATION) newspaper. [passage omitted]

Godinot was the 14th French person to be killed in ex-Yugoslavia since the beginning of the war in July 1991.

In a separate development, Mother Lilia Capretti, president of the Union of Superiors of Religious Orders in Italy, talked of the need to avoid publicity surrounding the pregnancies of nuns raped in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We nuns are used to living our suffering discreetly, in the secret of our hearts and in the secret of the (religious) community," she said on Vatican Radio.

Asked how nuns expecting children felt, she said: "On the one hand, they are disconcerted, but at the same time they live in the respect of a reality which they were not expecting. Of course, they will continue with their pregnancies (...) thanks also to the solidarity of the religious community."

She denied that the pregnant nuns would be forced to leave their convents once they had given birth.

Serbs Say Muslims Responsible

LD0403191793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—One member of a French humanitarian convoy was killed and two others where injured when Muslim snipers opened fire at around 1500 today on a column of vehicles in the region of Stupska Petlja, one kilometer from Sarajevo airport. SRNA has learned from the information center of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Army of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

Muslim positions in the nearby suburbs of Stupsko Brdo and Vojnicko Polje opened fire, says a statement by the Serbian command carried by SRNA.

The Serbian army is helping UN Protection Force members "in providing care for the casualties and evacuating the rest of the French humanitarian convoy and is trying to transport them to the territory of the Serbian municipality of Ilidza," SRNA has reported.

The French humanitarian workers brought humanitarian aid to Sarajevo yesterday, and today on their return journey from the city they were fired on by Muslim snipers, SRNA says.

REUTER and AFP have reported the killing of the member of the French Equilibre humanitarian organization but did not specify who opened fire. The agencies have said that the killed convoy member was a woman.

Canadian Peacekeepers Return Fire in Visoko

AU0403154193 Paris AFP in English 1538 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 4 (AFP)—U.N. peacekeepers returned fire after coming under heavy machine gun fire in Visoko, near here, a U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman said here Thursday [4 March].

Three Canadian Cougars "neutralized" the source of the firing on Wednesday, UNPROFOR commander Barry Frewer said.

The exchange claimed no casualties among the peacekeepers, but they did not know whether they wounded anyone, Frewer said.

The Visoko area northwest of Sarajevo is nominally under Bosnian control but Serbian forces are prevalent there, so it is unclear who fired the initial shots, Frewer said.

UNPROFOR troops are authorized to fire their weapons in self-defense, but they may not use them for example to secure the passage of a convoy.

Sarajevo Radio Updates Fighting

AU0403172893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 4 March carries several reports on fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 3 and 4 March.

BRCKO—The Brcko Press Center reports: "The aggressor has so far attempted three breakthroughs with tanks and infantry in the Brodusa region. The first attempt was at 0700, and the chetniks were repelled with fierce fire from the defenders. They tried again at 0930 with reinforced forces. They used four tanks, two Praga, an armored transporter, and two infantry platoons to push toward Brodusa. Our fighters again repelled the chetnik attack. At 1130, the chetniks again attacked the defense positions in Brodusa and were again repelled, this time losing 10 of their men. The Brcko defenders are holding their positions firmly. The region of Mali Rasljani has been under heavy fire since 0800 this morning from the tanks and mortars from the chetnik positions in Grbavica." The report adds: "Lipovac, Licki Most, and Dizdarska are being pounded with heavy artillery; tanks; 60-mm, 82-mm, and 120-mm mortars; and Praga. Our reconnaissance units are closely following every move the aggressor makes, and our defenders are ready for any new infantry attacks."

GRADACAC—The Gradacac Information Center reports: "The day is marked by constant fire from the aggressor's artillery and small arms. The chetniks are occasionally and unexpectedly firing 120-mm mortars at the defense lines in Pozarjke and Sibovac, and a few mortars landed on the city's industrial zone. Heavy infantry clashes are under way on this part of the front. Howitzers from (?Nisici) occasionally fire at civilian targets on the free territory well behind the front line. They again target roads and religious shrines."

TUZLA—Tuzla correspondent Enes Osmancevic reports: "Kalesija has been under chetnik attack since 0715 this morning. From their strongholds in (?Osmaci), Karadzic's criminals fire from tanks at civilian targets in Kalesija."

DOBOJ—Doboj correspondent Mirudin Aldobasic reports that "the chetniks have occasionally shelled civilian targets on the free territory with 120-mm mortars."

SARAJEVO—Sarajevo correspondent Jovo Jovanovic reports that Sarajevo remains quiet.

VOGOSCA—The Vagosca Press Center reports: "Only a few shells have landed so far on the free territory. The enemy has been opening sporadic provocative fire with small arms along the front line."

Serb Army Denies 'Ethnic Cleansing' in North

LD0403133793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Army of the Serb republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [VRS] issued a statement today categorically rejecting the Muslim leadership's claims about a new wave of ethnic cleansing of Muslims in the northern part of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The statement by the VRS General Staff Information Service, made available to TANJUG, stresses that such claims are yet another Muslim propaganda trick and that "they always behave in this way, before, prior to, or during important international gatherings, in an attempt to exact support for their stances or to wreck peace talks."

The VRS Command stresses that "tens of thousands of Muslims are living normally in Banja Luka and other towns of northern Bosnia; the employed have been receiving their salaries; prisoners from the prison camps of Manjaca, Omarska, and others were released a long time ago; and only the Serbians have closed down their prisons."

At the same time, the statement stresses, "in the areas of Gradacac, Srebrenik, Lukavac, Tesanj, Banovici, Zivinice, Kladanj, Olovo, and other towns under Muslim control, there are no Serbs left; they have been either killed or expelled, and their property looted or burned down."

The statement also adds that "all Serbs are being expelled from Tuzla right now, without even being able to take some of their movables," and that the Muslims "have not closed a single prison camp."

The Serbs in Sarajevo and Cazinska Krajina "are being subjected to forced mobilization. They are being sent to frontline positions, are discriminated against in the distribution of humanitarian aid, and are physically and psychologically tortured," the statement claims.

Serb Alleges Muslim-Croat Atrocities in Konjic

LD0403123793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1210
GMT 4 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Trebinje, March 4 (TANJUG)—Only about 300 Serbs are left of the 6,500 who lived in the town of Konjic (central Bosnia) before the outbreak of the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The remainder have either been forced to flee their centuries-old homes or are held captive in the local Muslim-Croat prison "where they are tortured and butchered day and night."

This is the start of the story of a Serb who abandoned his house and land about ten days ago and, aided by his Croat neighbour, managed to flee to freedom.

The long-suffering man refused to allow TANJUG to reveal his name, not because his account is untrue, but "because I left relatives in that human hellhole and their lives hang on a thread even without my testimony."

"Serbs can no longer live in Konjic and the surrounding villages," he says and adds that the coexistence of Croats and Muslims is also doubtful as they are increasingly resolving their growing disputes by force.

It is uncertain which side will win: The Muslims—who numbered 24,000 before the war, or the Croats—whose numbers were half this figure.

The figures are meaningless because the Muslims brought their people from Nevesinje, Gacko and Bilece (Eastern Herzegovina) and moved them into abandoned Serb houses, while the Croats brought in huge reinforcements from Western Herzegovina (called Herzeg-Bosnia and created by the Bosnia Croats), the refugee says.

Muslim Rusmo Hadziosmanovic has unlimited power in Konjic and "it is unknown how many Serbs he ordered arrested, robbed and murdered," he says.

"I was held prisoner in the Celebic prison a little less than three months. Some Serbs were subjected to horrible torture over the past ten months. These people are now living skeletons, who have taken leave of their senses. They no longer fear anything and act like semi-butchered sheep in a wolf's jaws," the elderly Serb says.

The Muslim-Croat Celebic prison employs a variety of torture methods with the gaolers competing in cruelty against the Serbs.

"I have watched them use a mallet to beat to death Simo Jovanovic," he said trembling as if from a fever.

"They tied us stuffed gunpowder into our mouths and poured it over our chests and legs and then set it to fire. They starved us, beat and tortured us and it is a wonder that anybody has been left alive," he says.

Serbs To Propose Dismantling Prison Camps

LD0403180393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717
GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 4 (TANJUG)—At the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb side will propose a term of three days for dismantling all camps and prisons in this ex-Yugoslav republic, has said Health Minister Dr. Dragan Kalinic of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina (R.S.).

Before departure for Geneva, Dr. Kalinic told TANJUG that this action should be started by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) right after the warring sides complete the lists of detainees.

A setback in the work on disassembling all camps was caused exclusively by the "Moslem and Croat sides which have not observed the October 1 (1992) Geneva accord on the unconditional closure of all camps."

Said Dr. Kalinic, "Serbs unilaterally dismantled three camps, releasing more than 5,000 prisoners.

The Serbs alone, Dr Kalinic added, "notified the ICRC about all their prisons and about the names of all detainees, enabling its representatives to tour most of the prisons and assembly centres. Some of the camps, notably in Foca and Visegrad, could not have been toured (by ICRC representatives) for the time being only for security reasons, because of battles going on."

He said the ICRC had exactly asserted that 1,203 prisoners were remaining in the Serb prisons.

Dr. Kalinic said the ICRC had registered 25 assembly centres and prisons in the territory of ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of this number, 17 were Moslem and Croat, while, as he put it, the Serbian side possessed data on Moslems and Croats maintaining camps in 19 places, while perpetrating systematic rape in 13 settlements.

"As early as last November," said Dr Kalinic, "the Serb republic conveyed to the ICRC a list of names of 2,000 Serbs of whom every track has been lost and who are believed to be detained in Croat and Moslem camps on the already known or yet unknown locations."

He suggested that near under 100,000 Serbs might be regarded as detainees in one way or another. "They are ethnic hostages in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Bihac, Livno," said Dr. Kalinic.

In Geneva, the Serb republic's delegation would seek from the ICRC the urgent release of 243 Serbs detained in the Croatian camp Rascani near Tomislavgrad in Herzegovina. They comprise: 75 boys or girls aged under 16, 114 persons over 60, 51 women aged 18-50, and three men of conscription age. The youngest detainee, Savic Pere Vanja, was born in April 1992, while the eldest, Zcevic Danko, was born in 1903.

'Informal' Croat-Muslim Agreement Signed*LD0403180093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] In New York yesterday Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic, Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, and [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Prime Minister Mile Akmadzic signed an informal Croat-Muslim agreement specifying the nature of their relations during the transitional period in the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan and the role of a provisional presidency as a composite body in charge of implementing that plan.

Both sides agree that all provinces are regarded as part of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and not as national territories. Under provisional government rule, both sides will observe fully authorized decisions made by the presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The responsibilities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Government, and provinces will be in accordance with constitutional principles endorsed and signed by both sides.

The agreement specifies that, in line with a letter on the supervision of heavy weapons written by General Nambiar [outgoing UN Protection Force commander for former Yugoslavia] on 1 March, President Izetbegovic has agreed to sign the military agreement.

It has been agreed that the institution of the Presidency will be retained during the rule of the provisional government. A provisional presidency will have nine members, including three representatives from each constitutive nation. The nine members of the provisional presidency will elect one presidency president, who will also be the head of state. The post of presidency president will rotate on the six-month basis in line with the existing rotation.

According to this informal Croat-Muslim agreement, the provisional presidency will make decisions either by consensus, a majority of seven, or a simple majority of five. If necessary, it will consult the cochairmen, whose decisions will be binding.

The following should be members of the provisional presidency: Fikret Abdic; Mile Akmadzic; Franjo Boras; Ejup Ganic; Alija Izetbegovic, and Miro Lasic. The cochairmen will ask Bosnian Serbs to propose three Serb representatives. The armed forces commander will not be a member of the provisional presidency.

Karadzic 'Shocked' by Croatian-Muslim 'Coalition'*AU0403133193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] We are shocked by the fact that a new Croatian-Muslim coalition was formed in New York on the basis

of which the Croatian and Muslim delegation signed a document to reconstruct the Presidency and the Government of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina on old principles, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], said.

As Karadzic emphasized, this is aimed at dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into two parts—the Serbian and the Muslim-Croatian part—as the proposal of the Serbian delegation to form a transitional coordinating body on a parity basis was pushed aside.

It seems that Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] signed the military document precisely on the basis of this Muslim-Croat coalition and a certain letter by Satish Nambiar, former UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander in Yugoslavia, which states that Serbian artillery will be put under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control, said the head of the Serbian republic delegation, adding that his delegation signed no new documents.

The meeting of Karadzic, Mate Boban [representative of Bosnian Croats], and Alija Izetbegovic, leaders of the three ethnic communities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, did not take place as the plenary session scheduled for yesterday was not held.

Croats, Muslims Reportedly Plan Corridor in Croatia*AU0403154093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Report by Branislav Bukva]

[Text] The concentration of troops and equipment on the border with Kordun, especially on the part toward Maljevac and Cetingrad, has increased. A statement issued by the Serbian army here stresses that this is taking place where there are two main roads, toward Karlovac and Croatia. If one bears in mind the recent visit by [Croatian] General Bobetko to Velika Kladusa and the visit by Fikret Abdic to Zagreb, then everything is clear. The statement therefore points out that this is probably an action agreed upon between the Croats and Muslims aimed at forceable opening of a corridor between the Cazin Krajina and Croatia via Kordun.

Army Commander Protests Serb 'Terror'*AU0403210393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces, lodged a strong protest with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Command for Bosnia-Herzegovina against the aggressor's crimes. The protest stresses that while the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units are complying with the unilateral cease-fire ordered by the Presidency, the

aggressor is continuing with heavy combat operations and is intensifying the terror against the civilian population.

At the moment, 15,000 civilians in Cerska and Konjevic Polje are under attack by strong chetnik forces. Among those, 2,000 are underage children, 2,000 are completely exhausted by hunger, and 1,500 are wounded. Many villages have been burned down, and nothing is known about the fate of some 300 civilians. Most likely they have been murdered. Owing to this offensive, people are not able to reach the aid that is dropped for them from the planes. If the savagery of the chetniks is not stopped, there will be no one left to receive the aid.

Flouting all the conventions and rules on warfare, the aggressor's forces are continuing to arrest and terrorize civilians in order to exchange them for captured members of their regular units, particularly war criminals. Seventy-five elderly Muslim people, women, and children from border villages in Montenegro are in Cajnice at the moment. Their houses have been burned down, while they have been seized to be exchanged for prisoners.

The commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces is asking the UNPROFOR Command to use its influence to stop this unprecedented terror against civilians, and prevent it from happening in the future, states the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Article Reports Rise of Croat Nationalism

93BA0648A Zagreb *DANAS* in Serbo-Croatian
12 Feb 93 pp 25-26

[Article by Ivan Sabic: "Citizen or Nationalist"]

[Text] The pro memoria to save Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] signed in August 1991 by 13 Croatian intellectuals of Bosnia-Herzegovina is practically the first document which clearly and openly demands establishment of an independent and sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the pro memoria, the signatories wrote that Bosnia-Herzegovina is their only homeland, that the Croatian people in B-H is the least numerous, but just as much a constituent nationality as all the others. They called attention of the European and world public to the fact that "in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina there is no political force sufficiently strong and influential to be able to stop the further destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the carrying over of bloody interethnic conflicts to its soil," and they express their opinion that "all international political mechanisms should urgently be set in motion in order to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Fourteen months later, in October 1992 Nermina Kurpahic wrote in *MUSLIMANSKI GLAS* that the Croatian intellectuals in B-H are providing occasion for new conflicts in B-H, moreover "following the logic of the military successes of the HVO [Croatian Defense

Council]," which are based, in her opinion, aside from the real victories, "also on petty agreements with the Chetniks," and she accuses them (the Croatian intellectuals) of having "now transformed themselves from Croats with a civic orientation into Croatian nationalists." And in an issue of the same paper that came out two weeks earlier Sejo Omeragic reproached the average Muslim intellectual for being ashamed that "he must be a Muslim," for always having had a civic orientation and having been ethnically confused, and for being ashamed of the Muslim nationality when it has needed him most. In Sarajevo, it obviously is not the thing to be a Muslim intellectual confused about his nationality or a Croatian intellectual who is ethnically focused.

An Unrealized Dream

What happened during those 14 months so that Croatian intellectuals who were advocates of a civil state of Bosnia-Herzegovina became Croatian nationalists? The question arises only because Croatian intellectuals in B-H, at least those who have presented their view on this question to the public, really were vocal advocates of a civil B-H, but today, at least a majority of them are rather reserved toward the project being carried out in Sarajevo.

Five Croatian intellectuals (Miljenko Jergovic, Dr. Ivo Komsic, Ivan Kordic, Ivan Lovrenovic, and Mile Stojic) wrote an open letter to President Tudjman in early January 1992 in which they harshly attacked him for his alleged favoring a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The letter evoked rather sharp reactions. The authors were mainly reproached for having called attention exclusively to Croatian behavior toward the situation in B-H and for having at the same time completely neglected the true causes of its suffering, and because they did not turn to the political grouping which by the logic of the thing ought to be the most interested in the survival of B-H, but nevertheless looks upon its dismemberment without any great agitation, holding that a miracle will occur and the Muslims will realize their dream of a civil state without bloodshed.

In late February, there was a meeting in Sarajevo of the Civil Forum of Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina (attended by more than 200 public and cultural figures), which called upon Croats to vote in the referendum for a sovereign and independent B-H. The document adopted stated that Croats have never lost hope of the resurrection of the Bosnian state, but it did not support a civil B-H unreservedly, but emphasized that by voting "yes" in the referendum Croats would be confirming their right to take part in the internal arrangement of that state. That was at the same time the sole sign that the Croatian intelligentsia in Sarajevo felt reserved toward a civil B-H.

After the verbal agreement reached in the Sarajevo Lodge Konak on 18 March 1992 among representatives of the three ethnic communities in B-H concerning the principles of the future constitutional arrangement of

that state, which envisaged even the existence of ethnic constituent units, a large group of Croatian intellectuals demanded removal of the Croatian delegation which accepted it. A joint statement was signed and made public in which it was asserted that the Croatian public in B-H had been shocked by the results of the discussion in the Konak, and that the number of nationalities in B-H cannot be decisive as to the number of constituent units, which coincided completely with the view of the Muslim leadership, which has remained unchanged to this day.

The Croatian intellectual circle in Sarajevo based its views on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the enviable knowledge of medieval Bosnia and on the existence of Croatian (Catholic) shrines and archaeological localities essential to the history of the Croatian people, which by no criteria whatsoever could become part of the Croatian ethnic space in B-H, but also on the obvious impossibility of examining things in a more down-to-earth way. If they had looked more carefully at the environment in which they are operating, above all, the relationship among the (military) confronting parties and the declarative and real positions of the Muslim politicians, they would easily have seen that the Bosnia-Herzegovina for which they have opted will remain only an unrealized dream, just like the Serbian dream of a Serbian Kosovo.

Aside from the problematical nature of the very assertion that Croatian intellectuals in B-H have become nationalists (in the meaning of the word we usually give it) and the impreciseness as to whom it is applied, it is advisable to call attention to the environment in which Croatian intellectuals in Sarajevo live today (because the reference is mainly to them when Croatian intellectuals in B-H are spoken of).

How, for example, can the Croatian intellectual Zeljko Ivankovic, who is acting director of the B-H news agency Beha Press, react when he sends out news reports speaking of aggression of the fascist units of the HVO against the "fundamental nationality in B-H" and the Army of B-H? Can the issue be brought down to the level of a conflict between advocates and opponents of a B-H organized on civic principles? And any opposition obviously ends up in name-calling.

Far From Power

The logical question is whether a Croatian intellectual living in B-H with a Muslim majority of the population can today give any support to a government which is allegedly fighting for a civil state? That is, even if the assertions were accurate that the Muslim-Croatian conflicts are the fault of the leaders of the Croatian Community [HZ] of Herceg-Bosnia, that the Muslim people on the territory of the HZ Herceg-Bosnia have been disenfranchised, and that the HVO is a hostile army, the Muslim politicians and military commanders would have to achieve the functioning of a law-governed state on the territories under their control, but that is not the case. On the contrary, state authority in B-H has become the exclusive right of Muslims, while the Croats have no influence on it whatsoever, and the safety of property and personal safety in various parts of B-H (in Sarajevo, for example) are below a level that can be justified by the state of war. Under such circumstances, disappointment with Alija's civil state is a logical reaction even on the part of those Croats who were acquainted with B-H exclusively through historical literature and idealized pictures about the Bosnian wealth of differences.

At the same time, the Muslim intelligentsia has become oversensitive to any voice coming from the Croatian ranks. To what extent is best illustrated by the fact that Dzemaludin Latic and Zilhad Kljucanin sent a public message to the writer Mile Stojic for having called the "hanum" [good woman] Hasanagica a Muslim-Croat, and the ballad about her a Croatian ballad: "When you return to Sarajevo, put on your good socks!" (Mile's explanation was that Hasanagica was first written down "somewhere in the Imotski region," and first printed by the Venetians.)

The authorities in Sarajevo have by their behavior proven those to be right who expressed fear of Muslim majority rule in the civil B-H. At the same time, they have exposed an illusion of the Croatian intellectual circle in Sarajevo. Next, there will probably be a search for the "honest" Croatian intelligentsia, but success will be some time in coming. One Croatian writer from B-H spoke long ago about the need for a certain rejection of the government by the intellectuals, but presumably this is clear to everyone: If rejection there must be, then it must be of every government, not only Croatian participation in the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Army Responds to Serb Attacks in Zadar Area

LD0503094793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Serb paramilitary formations have been opening fire on almost all defense lines in Zadar hinterland since 0510 today. The Croatian Army was forced to respond to the chetnik attacks: Its retaliation was precise and effective. Detonations from the hinterland can be heard in Zadar.

Serbs Ready To Defend Krajina to 'Last Breath'

AU0403153793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] The delegation of the Republic of Serbian Krajina is continuing talks in Geneva about the implementations of the Vance plan. According to Mile Paspalj, chairman of the assembly, the way Krajina is being discussed in Geneva shows that the UN representatives want to reinstate the reputation of the world organization.

We will clearly point out once again that the Republic of Serbian Krajina does not want Croatian territory but that it will defend its territory until the last breath, Paspalj said.

TANJUG Claims Muslims Urging Return of 'Ustashi'

LD0403142693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1331 GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 4 (TANJUG) - The representative of the Bosnia Moslem authorities in Zagreb urged the unification of Croats and Moslems in Bosnia on the basis

of the ustashi ideology which caused the deaths of over a million Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in the territory of the puppet Independent State of Croatia (NDH) during World War Two.

Speaking at a panel discussion on Moslem-Croat relations, Semso Tankovic, the director of the Bosnian Government Bureau for Croatia, said that "only the ustashi idea can unite the Croats and Moslems" in a joint anti-Serb front and that history has shown that this "idea has always brought us closer."

NDH, created under the auspices of Nazi Germany, called the Moslems "the flower of Croatia" and employed them as the mass murderers of Serbs.

The regime of ustashi leader and war criminal Ante Pavelic planned to convert to Catholicism one third of the Orthodox Croat Serbs, expell one third and kill the reminder.

Croatian parliamentary deputy Vice Vukojevic told the panel that the Moslems and Croats are "natural allies."

The Croats are entitled to one third of the powers in Bosnia and this is why we urge the sovereignty of all three nations (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) on the territorial principle, Vukojevic said.

The creation of a unitary civic state in Bosnia is unacceptable to the Croats because this in fact represents the fundamentalist approach of the Moslem parties, he said.

The Bosnia Serbs and Croats oppose Bosnia Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic's demands for a unitary Bosnia.

The peace plan by the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, divides Bosnia into ten provinces.

Federal**Foreign Ministry Regrets U.S. Embassy Attack***LD0403143393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Foreign Ministry regrets that an explosive device was thrown at the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade last night and condemns this act of violence.

The Foreign Ministry statement stresses that the competent organs will take all necessary measures to find and punish the perpetrator of the incident.

Seselj Denounces Embassy Bombing*AU0403164993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] At a news conference, Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, stressed that the new Federal Government will primarily deal with the issues of social policy, energy resources, and spring sowing. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Nikolic] Seselj explained that the interruption of the Serbian Assembly session by the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party before the adoption of the agenda was due to the insistence by the head of the party's caucus that the assembly obtain an answer to the question raised by deputy Aleksandar Taskovic [who asked the assembly to establish Seselj's nationality].

We think that this problem should be treated more seriously and our party will therefore insist that the question by deputy Taskovic be reformulated into a question of the Serbian Radical Party. We will ask the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia and the History Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts to provide a detailed answer so that any further confusion can be avoided, Seselj said.

The Serbian Radical Party condemns all terrorists acts, particularly the attack on the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade. We believe that as long as Yugoslavia and the United States have diplomatic relations, the diplomatic offices, not only of the United States, but also of other countries, must be offered full protection and safety, Seselj stressed.

[Begin Seselj recording] The Serbian Radical Party holds the view that the bomb attack on the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade is in fact an attack on the Serbian people and their national interests. [end recording]

[Nikolic] The Serbian Radical Party insists that the state commission for war crimes be reinstated and that the new commission deal with the problems for which it had initially been set up. [passage omitted].

Macedonia**Gligorov Relieves Chief of General Staff***LD0403131793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 4 Mar 93*

[Text] Skopje, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov has relieved Lieutenant Colonel General Mitre Arsovski as the chief of the general staff of the Macedonian Army and sent him into retirement.

Admiral Dragoljub Bocinov, known in connection with the surrender of the Lora naval base near Split to the Croatian forces, has been appointed as the chief of the general staff.

Arsovski had been attacked in the past few months by the Skopje press for numerous "slips," including an alleged statement made during a visit to emigrants in Canada that his elite units would liberate parts of Macedonia currently held by other states.

The latest wave of criticism focused on Arsovski's refusal to allow the Marshal Tito barracks in Skopje to be renamed, because Josip Broz Tito had been of exceptional importance for Macedonia. The public criticized Arsovski for his statements that Macedonia is not threatened from the north, which are in contradiction with assessments made by some other Macedonian officials, who demanded from the Macedonian authorities to place United Nations forces on the northern border.

Gligorov Claims Country Will Never Change Name*AU0403124693 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 27-28 Feb 93 p 7*

[Interview with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, "supplied by Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Relations to KONTINENT"; place and date not given: "In Bulgaria They Say We Are Bulgarians, While the Serbs Call Us Serbs"]

[Text] [Question] Mr. President, what is your strategy for emerging from the impasse in relations between Macedonia and Greece?

[Gligorov] The situation is very serious. Macedonia existed under this name for more than half a century and has never made any territorial claims against anyone, Greece included. If the country's name is changed, the issue of the people's identity will probably then be raised. When relations became strained between Athens and Skopje, I wrote to Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis suggesting that we sit down at the negotiating table and discuss the issue, as we have done with other neighbors. So far I have not received a reply to my proposal.

[Question] Is there any likelihood of your reaching a compromise concerning the country's name?

[Gligorov] It must become clear to the Greek Government that we will not change our name. The name of the state is connected with the name of the people. Greece is not only against the name of Macedonia, it claims that we are not Macedonians at all. How can a nation exist without a name? The Serbs consider us Serbs, Bulgaria calls us Bulgarians, and Greece claims that a large part of the population of Macedonia are Greeks. If the situation in Macedonia destabilizes, a new Balkan war will be inevitable. We are in the center of the Balkans, and none of the neighboring countries will remain impartial toward the conflict.

[Question] What are relations like between Macedonia and Serbia?

[Gligorov] The Yugoslav Army withdrew from Macedonia without any particular complications. Milan Panic, the former Yugoslav prime minister, stated that he respects Macedonia's borders.

[Question] How are your relations with Serbian President Milosevic?

[Gligorov] Slobodan Milosevic has met several times with Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, and, according to the information I have, the issue of a possible division of Macedonia was raised at their meetings. It is clear that in this respect the mutual relations between Greece and Serbia constitute a serious threat to us.

[Question] Formerly you were a member of the Communist Party, but now you are a Social Democrat. Is this a tactical compromise, or have you changed your views?

[Gligorov] Let me tell you about a few important points in my career. First, I have always fought against fascism and was one of the people who declared Macedonia's independence. I took part in the work of the first postwar Yugoslav parliament. I proposed several economic reforms that enabled us to introduce a market economy in the country. During my political career I obtained a reputation for myself as a reformer.

Kosovo

Serb Official Discusses Secession as 'Real Problem'

LD0403211593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939
GMT 4 Mar 93

[Text] Pristina, March 4 (TANJUG)—The persistent attempts of ethnic Albanian leaders to have Serbia's Province of Kosovo and Metohija secede are the only real problem in that province, ranking Kosovo and Metohija official Milos Simovic said on Thursday [4 March].

"The problem does not lie in the alleged violations of minority rights but in the fact that ethnic Albanians do not want to exercise the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution and other laws," Simovic said in a talk with two members of a U.S. human rights organization in Pristina, the administrative centre of Kosovo and Metohija.

An ethnic Albanian secessionist movement has been active in Kosovo and Metohija for over two decades. Its aim has been the joining of Kosovo and Metohija to neighbouring Albania. Members of the Albanian minority are boycotting all authorities of the Republic of Serbia under pressure from secessionists.

Ethnic Albanian leaders in Kosovo and Metohija are deceiving the world public and claiming that their minority rights are allegedly violated, all with a view to winning the sympathy of the international community for their political ends.

Simovic, who is the head of the Kosovo district, told the U.S. human rights activists that a lasting solution to the problem in Serbia's southern province could be achieved only if ethnic Albanians were to recognize Serbia's Constitution and laws and renounce their illusory goal of the creation of a "Republic of Kosovo."